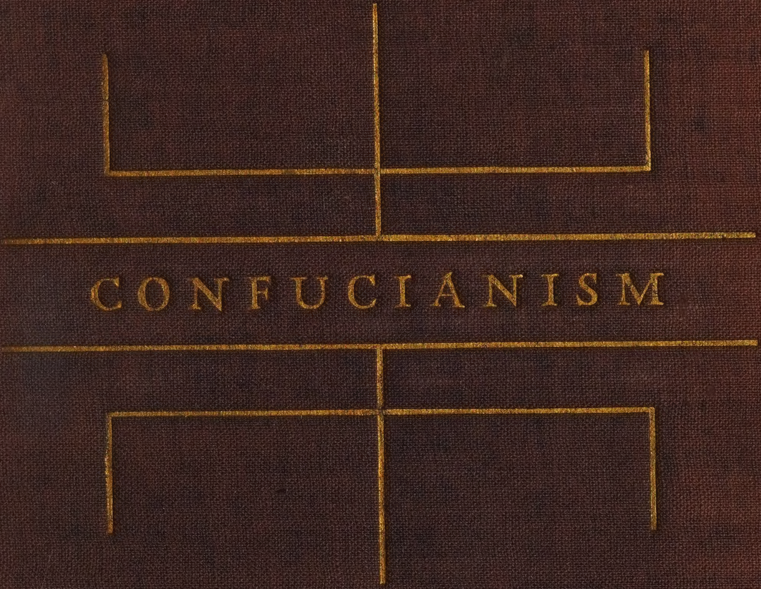

CONFUCIANISM

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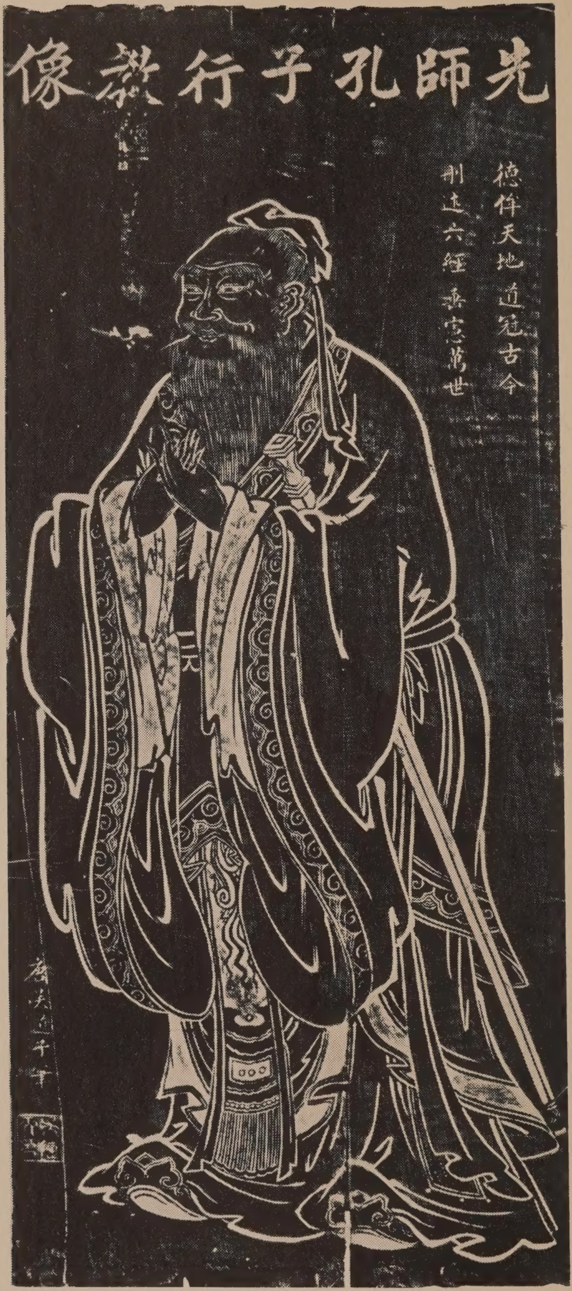
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CONFUCIUS (*From a rubbing*)

CONFUCIANISM

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ETHICS · PHILOSOPHY · RELIGION

BY ✓
FREDERICK STARR
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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1930

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PREFACE

THE idea of writing a small book of this kind came to me when I was reading a pamphlet on The Presentation of Christianity in Confucian Lands. I believe that most persons think of Confucianism as it prevails in China as being the simple and direct teaching of Confucius. Such an idea is an error. During the twenty-five centuries of its existence, Confucianism has undergone many changes. It has seemed to me that a simple book in which the development of modern Confucianism should be followed, and in which especial attention should be given to the half-dozen men who have altered early Confucianism to its present form would be worth while. I know no such book in English. Père Wieger has written an interesting and able book of this kind in French, *Histoire des Croyances Religieuses et des Opinions Philosophiques*, in which, however, he traces the history of Taoism and Buddhism as well as Confucianism. His book also is addressed to students who have gone more deeply into philosophy than the readers of this book are supposed to have done.

Much time has passed since the idea arose. Finally the work is done. It falls far short of expectation. It contains much less of independent and original matter than was anticipated and much more of quotation from the works of others. It had been my intention to apply to myself the well known and oft-quoted words of Confucius: "A transmitter and not an originator." But that would really be too great an assumption. Rather, I am as a stringer of beads. The thread upon which the beads are strung is a frail and a weak one. And are the beads well chosen, sorted as to size and shape, strung with due reference to color and artistic effect?

The English form of Chinese names of men and places is a serious problem. Each competent writer or translator seems to prefer his individual transliteration. So great is the difference that it is sometimes difficult to identify a name appearing in two different authors. On the whole I have tried to follow Giles, in spite of his constant and ugly use of diacritical marks. In making direct quotations from other authors, however, there is no change made in the spelling. As a result there are many inconsistencies, of which the author is quite conscious. There are probably inconsistencies in his own material; *these* are unintentional and unfortunate. That no one can correctly pronounce Chinese names written with Roman letters is suggested by a footnote in Dubs' *Hsüntze*. He spells the name and discusses its pronunciation. After reading the note, it is a bold man who would attempt to speak the name! The case is worsened by the fact that the same name is variously pronounced in different parts of China.

Chinese personal names present another difficulty. Any man may have three names, his true name, his "style" and his literary name. Writers, both Chinese and foreign, may use any of the three as they like. Unless one knows all three names, he will become confused. Not uncommonly the same man may be mentioned by two different names, even in a single paragraph. Often it will seem that different men are being mentioned.

The book is largely quotation from various authors. No direct references are given to sources, but the author quoted can rarely be in doubt. The first mention of a source is usually explicit and it has been the intention of the writer to emphasize both the extent of his obligation and the excellence of the source. Such writers as Legge, Soothill, Giles, Bruce, Dubs, Henke, and Armstrong deserve the highest praise. The tasks they have undertaken are heavy, time-consuming and unremunerative. Their work has been love's labor. High praise is due also to such publishers as Kegan Paul (Trench, Trübner and Co.) and Probsthain and Company (later Arthur Probsthain) and The Open Court Publishing Co. They have done a great public service in undertaking publications which at best can yield no great return.

Interest in Chinese culture has grown as China's political importance has been recognized. It is bound to increase as the years pass. Fifteen years ago it would have been difficult to accumulate material from English sources for this book. At that time there was little, almost nothing in English from Chusius, Hsüntze, Wang Yang-ming and the Japanese Confucianists. No matter what studies may be made in future, the general facts here brought together will be but little changed. The actually great Confucianists are all here mentioned and considered. The author hopes that this book may serve its purpose — that it will do more and lead some readers to look beyond it to the sources from which its material has been drawn.

FREDERICK STARR.

Seattle, Washington.
July 1, 1929.

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The publishers wish to acknowledge with thanks the courtesy of Thomas Y. Crowell Company for permission to reprint the portrait of Duke Yen, from "China Yesterday and Today" by Professor Williams; and of J. B. Lippincott Company for permission to reprint the portrait of Wang Yang-Ming from "Eighteen Capitals of China" by William Edgar Geil.

* Keystone photo.

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TSING, OR MANCHU	1644–1911

I

CONFUCIUS

THE SAGE

CONFUCIUS

THE SAGE

For many years my students and I have talked of "circles of greatness". When the name of a man of achievement came before us, we endeavored to place him in his proper circle. Would he figure in a circle of fifty thousand of the world's greatest of today, or in history? Could he be given a place in a circle of five thousand, or of five hundred? Could he possibly be one in the circle of the fifty greatest? Or, of ten? What are the criteria of greatness? When the names of two great men are presented before the mind at once, which is entitled to the higher rank? Which is the greater, Philip of Macedon or Alexander the Great? Of the three great men who consolidated Japan—Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, Iyeyasu—which deserves the greater credit? Many and varied were our discussions. On the whole we inclined to grant greatness to men who wielded a large influence, and we agreed that breadth and duration entered into the matter. The man whose thought, word, deed, influenced great numbers through a long period of time was truly great. We sometimes attempted a list of the ten-world's-greatest circle. We never had a complete consensus of opinion. There was, naturally, considerable diversity of opinion as to what constituted worthy achievement. Still there was greater agreement within a list of ten than in a list of fifty.

Usually Confucius was named in our circle of ten. The vast number of people who have been influenced by him, the long period during which his influence has operated, the tenacity of that influence even at the present time, were urged in favor of his inclusion. There can be no question that he belongs within an extremely small circle. Many dislike him; many consider him a much over-estimated man; many feel that his influence has done more harm than good. But any man whose influence is deeply felt by hundreds of millions of individuals twenty-five hundred years after his death was surely a great man.

There are three aspects of Confucianism. It may be considered (A) a system of ethics; (B) a philosophy; (C) a religion. These three aspects

DUKE YEN, LINEAL DESCENDANT OF CONFUCIUS

should be kept distinct. Confucius was a practical man, rather than a theorist. He taught human relations and their duties; he indicated what the superior man would be; he was interested in politics and good government. He was primarily a teacher of ethics. He was not a great philosopher. He cared little for metaphysical discussion or for explanations of the cosmos. When he was gone and commentators dealt with his teachings and the books which he transmitted, a Confucian philosophy arose. Definition of terms, theories of the universe, discussion of ultimates, metaphysics, all came in time. Confucius himself taught no religion. He avoided discussion of the supernatural. For him human conduct was the all-important thing. In his definition of the human relations, he did not recognize man's relation to deity. One of his chief claims to respect is that he neither claimed to be divine nor founded a religion. Yet there has grown up a religion of Confucianism, in which Confucius himself has come to be practically an object of worship. Confucianism is then three things at once—an ethical system, a philosophy, a religion.

Confucius was born at Tsou, in the state of Lu in the year 551 B.C., almost twenty-five hundred years ago. His father was a man of great strength and courage. He was more than seventy years of age when his son was born, child of a second and young wife. The first wife had given him nine daughters and a concubine had borne him a crippled son. The second marriage was for the specific object of procuring a fit representative to continue the family. They were left in poverty. The boy was a diligent student from early childhood, though little is known of the details of his education. His regard for his mother was great and she appears to have stimulated his ambition and encouraged his studies. He had to go to work at about seventeen years of age, entering public service. Young as he was, he seems to have made some reputation with the ruler of the state. He married at nineteen years of age and within a year a boy child was born. On the occasion of this birth, the duke sent congratulations and a present.

There is some mystery in regard to his married life. It seems not to have been altogether happy. It is commonly believed that he divorced his wife and that they lived apart for many years. Giles says that she "was a downright Xantippe." Others speak of her in kindlier fashion and even seek excuse for her. Quite likely Confucius was a somewhat difficult husband. His devotion to study, his absorption in teaching, his austere manner, his unbending propriety of deportment, might command respect; they hardly tended to great warmth of affection. Some writers deny that there was a divorce. The child born from this marriage cherished a great affection for his mother and when she died indulged in unrestrained grief. It is even said that Confucius, himself, on hearing of her death "was much moved, and spoke of her in affectionate terms."

In 529 B.C. the mother of Confucius died and he observed the regulation three years of mourning. This involved his withdrawal from his official duties and practical retirement from the interests of ordinary life. When he finished his mourning, he returned to his home, opened his house to students and began his active work as a teacher. He had already had disciples, but from now on this was his most serious occupation.

Confucius is said to have been of more than average stature, unusually dark in color, and ugly in his personal appearance. It is probable that the description of him as given by Soothill would apply at this time: "He was careful about his dress both for day and night wear and particular about its quality, style and congruity of color and season. He was most scrupulous about his food, both as to quality, mode of preparation and service; he would eat nothing in the least tainted or badly cut. In wine he allowed himself liberty, but not license. His public bearing was punctilious to a degree, and in private he permitted himself no undue freedom—not even in bed. He was gracious and kindly but never fully relaxed himself, even to his son, to whom it is incredible to imagine him as ever amusing. He was a true sportsman, giving his bird its chance, and only shooting it on the wing. He was also, we may judge, able to ride and drive and not merely to sit in a carriage, and it seems evident that he was well acquainted with archery. His habits and character may be summed up in one sentence: 'If his mat were not straight, he would not sit on it.' He was a punctilious gentleman of the old school, to whom our modern laxity, not to say flippancy of manner, would have amounted to immorality."

In 523 B.C. he made a special study of music and is said to have soon surpassed his teacher. With his disciples, Confucius constantly discoursed upon good government. He was anxious to take an active part in governmental reform and was ever looking for some ruler into whose service he might enter. The prince of his own state, Lu, knew his abilities but was of a weak character and surrounded by worthless advisers. The times were marked by disorder and confusion. The Empire was no longer united, but had fallen apart into a large number of small states, each with its petty ruler. It is true that there was still a nominal emperor of the Chow dynasty, but he had little power even in the area left to his control. In the state of Lu there was almost chaos. Three families ran things and each strove for advantage; there were dissensions even within these families. Plottings and intrigues were so rife that a man of principle had little inclination to enter politics.

An incident that occurred about this time had considerable influence upon the young teacher. In one of the three families there had been a minister named Mang He. When he was near death he stated his desire that his son Ho-chi, later known as Mang I, should become a disciple of Confucius. The young man, together with his friend (brother, or cousin?) Nan-kung King-shuh, became hearers of the teacher. This not only added prestige to his work; it opened up to him opportunities for which he had wished. Learning that he desired to visit Lo, in Honan, where the Emperor had his capital, they made his wishes known to the duke of Lu, who placed a chariot and horses at the disposition of Confucius and supplied facilities for his visit. It was an exceptional opportunity to examine archives, to see treasures, and to learn details regarding ceremonies and procedures of olden times. It is true that the Emperor gave him no interview, but Confucius made good use of his privileges. He here collected material for his later work. And it was at this time that he perhaps had an interview with the old sage, Laotze.

Returning home Confucius found the situation in the state of Lu as bad as ever. In fact Duke Chao was forced to flee for refuge to the neighboring state of Ch'i, where he died eight years later. Confucius followed him to Ch'i, where he was well received by the ruler, and it looked for a time as if he might receive an appointment. The jealousy of the court, however, worked against his receiving an offer which he could accept with dignity and he soon returned to Lu. There he spent the next fifteen years in study and in the instruction of disciples, who flocked to him. He might, no doubt, have had appointments to office, but was unwilling to mix in the quarrels and vulgar politics of the time. Among those who were conspicuous at this time was an officer connected with the Ke family. It is said that he sought an interview with Confucius, which the teacher avoided. However, meeting on one occasion, Yang Ho said: "Come let me speak with you. Can he be called benevolent who keeps his jewel in his bosom and leaves his country to confusion?" Confucius replied: "No." "Can he be called wise, who is anxious to be engaged in public employment, and yet is constantly losing the opportunity of being so?" Again Confucius said: "No." The other added: "The days and the months are passing away; the years do not wait for us." Confucius said: "Right; I will go into office."

Not long after, he was really appointed governor of Chung Tu. His success is said to have been remarkable. Legge says: "As magistrate of Chung Tu he produced a marvellous reformation of the manners of the people in a short time. According to the 'Family Sayings', he enacted rules for the nourishing of the living, and all observances to the dead. Different food was assigned to the old and the young, and different burdens to the strong and the weak. Males and females were kept apart from each other in the streets. A thing dropt on the road was not picked up. There was no fraudulent carving of vessels. Inner coffins were made four inches thick, and the outer ones five. Graves were made on the high grounds, no mounds being raised over them, and no trees planted about them. Within twelve months, the princes of the states all about wished to imitate his style of administration." The Duke Ting, recognizing his success, advanced him first to the department of works, then to the ministry of crime. It is said that crime ceased; "there was no necessity to put the penal laws in execution. No offenders showed themselves."

Naturally success in any degree approaching this aroused enmities, both within the state of Lu and outside. There had been difficulties between Lu and Ch'i. The Duke of Ch'i feared the growing prosperity of his neighbor. He made several efforts to destroy or weaken him, which were thwarted by the wisdom and care of Confucius. He felt that the safety of himself and of his state lay in separating Duke Ting from his wise minister. To gain his end, he pursued a crafty scheme. Knowing that Confucius would not remain in the employ of a licentious and pleasure-loving monarch, he pretended friendship and sent Duke Ting as a present one hundred and twenty fine horses and eighty beautiful and accomplished dancing girls. The ruse was altogether successful. Ting neglected his duties, plunged into a period of pleasure and paid no heed to the warnings and appeals of Confucius. There was but one course possible. "Confucius regretfully took his departure, going away slowly and by easy stages. He would have welcomed a messenger of recall. The duke continued in his abandonment, and the sage went forth to thirteen weary years of homeless wandering." He had been in office four years, from 500 to 496 B.C.

We shall not go into details of those thirteen years. Attended by his disciples, Confucius wandered from state to state looking for some ruler who would use his services. He was often treated with respect and provision was made for his support, but nowhere were conditions such that he could put his program of reform into operation. Sometimes he suffered hardships; more than once he was in danger. At last he was recalled to Lu, in 483 B.C. But conditions were still unsatisfactory. The duke had no serious purpose of reform. The teacher was an old and broken man. His wife had died in 484 B.C.; his son died in 482; his favorite disciple Yen Hui died in the same year, or earlier; the faithful, outspoken disciple Tzu Lu died in 480. Confucius was a lonely, heart-broken man; he felt death approaching. He said: "No intelligent monarch arises; there is no one in the empire that will make me his master. My time is come to die." A few days later he passed away. It was the year 479 B.C. and Confucius was seventy-three years old.

Before ending this brief sketch of the life of the sage, we will mention two incidents, which have earned much comment. The one is probably authentic; the other may be apocryphal. Confucius had one son, born during the first year after his marriage. Little is known of him. He was an attendant at his father's lectures, but there was no demonstration of warm affection between them. In the *Analects* (xvi.xiii) we read:

> Ch'en K'ang once asked Po Yu:
> Have you ever had any lessons different from the rest?
> No, was the reply, but he was once standing alone, and as I hastened across the hall, he remarked: Have you studied the Odes?
> No, I replied.
> If you do not study the Odes, he said, you will have nothing to use in conversation.

> On going out, I set myself to study the Odes.
> Another day, he was again standing alone, and as I hastened across the hall, he asked: Have you studied the Rules of Ceremony?
> No, I replied.
> If you have not studied the Ceremonies, you will have no standing.
> On going out, I set myself to study the Ceremonies.
> There are the two lessons I have received.
> When Ch'en K'ang came away he remarked with delight: I asked one thing and obtained three—I have learnt about the Odes, I have learnt about the Ceremonies, and I have learnt that the wise man keeps his son at a distance.

It is probable that Confucius had a real affection for his son and that his attitude toward him was an intentionally imposed restraint. That the son was capable of warm and spontaneous affection is evident from the emotion that he displayed at his mother's death. "He wept aloud for her after the period for such a demonstration of grief had expired, when Confucius sent a message to him that his sorrow must be subdued, and the obedient son dried his tears." This son died before his father, who made no indecent exhibition of sorrow on the occasion. When, however, his favorite disciple Yen Hui died, Confucius was deeply affected and his grief and mourning were plainly exhibited. The contrast between his conduct on these two occasions has caused considerable criticism, which is perhaps unwarranted. The whole matter is interesting and deserves serious consideration.

It is claimed that Confucius had an interview with the old philosopher, Laotze, during the time which he spent at Lo. The interview may be apocryphal. The story has, however, been accepted for nearly two thousand years and is of interest as contrasting two fundamentally different views of life. As long as man has thought, there has been conflict between the mystic and the practical man. Legge thus states the incident:

> Sze-ma Tse'en, favorable to Laotze, makes him lecture his visitor in the following style: Those whom you talk about are dead and their bones are mouldered to dust; only their words remain. When the superior man gets

> his time he mounts aloft; but when the time is against him, he moves as if his feet were entangled. I have heard that a good merchant, though he has rich treasures deeply stored, appears as if he were poor, and that the superior man whose virtue is complete, is yet to outer seeming stupid. Put away your proud air and your many desires, your insinuating habit and your wild will. These are of no value to you. This is all that I have to tell you. On the other hand Confucius is made to say to his disciples: I know how the birds can fly, how fish can swim, and how animals can run. But the runner may be snared, the swimmer may be hooked and the flyer may be shot by the arrow. But there is the dragon. I cannot tell how he mounts on the wind through the clouds and rises to heaven. Today I have seen Laotze and can only compare him to the dragon.

The conflict inherent between Confucius and Laotze has been continuous. Taoism (based on the philosophy of Laotze) and Confucianism have been contending through their entire history.

Regarding himself and his intellectual progress,
The Master said:
At fifteen I set my mind upon wisdom.
At thirty I stood firm.
At forty I was free from doubts.
At fifty I understood the laws of Heaven.
At sixty my ear was docile.
At seventy I could follow the desires of my
heart without transgressing the right.
(An. ii.iv.)

The certainties regarding the life of the Teacher are few, but about him has grown up an interesting apocryphal history. It would be easy to fill many pages with stories going into minute detail, but it is not worth while. Our best information comes from the *Analects*. The fanciful details are derived from the *Kia-Yu*, Family Traditions or Family Sayings. While spurious, it is popular. Martin says of it: "Taken as a whole, the volume of these apocryphal writings far exceeds that of the authentic records; the gaseous envelope surrounding the luminary is greater than its solid nucleus. But it may be doubted whether these fabrications, however well meant, have not detracted from the essential greatness of China's model wise man." The same author makes an interesting comparison between the real and the apocryphal Confucius. He says:

> 1. The real Sage was noted for modesty; the fictitious is a prig, who assumes to know everything.
> 2. The real Confucius was a man of few words; his style, laconic and grave. The mythical is loquacious, and often occupied with trifles.
> 3. The real Sage was reverential toward the Supreme Power of the Universe, but agnostic in spirit and practice. The apocryphal is excessively superstitious, drawing omens of the future from birds, beasts, and the nonsensical ditties of children.
> 4. The real Sage, when asked if it is right to repay injury by injury, forbids revenge. The apocryphal is made to teach the vendetta in its most truculent form.
> 5. The real Sage was humane, making humanity, or love, the first of the cardinal virtues, in his moral system. The apocryphal personage is cruel and unjust.

Many judgments of the Sage have been expressed through the ages. Some are bitterly hostile; others are sheer flattery. In closing his notice of Confucius, Giles says: "The following words, written eighteen centuries ago by the famous historian Ssŭma Ch'ien, best describe the position then and still held by the great Sage in the hearts of the Chinese people: 'Countless are the princes and prophets that the world has seen in its time; glorious in life, forgotten in death. But Confucius, though only a humble member of the cotton-clothed masses, remains among us after many generations. He is the model for such as would be wise. By all, from the Son of Heaven down to the meanest student, the supremacy of his principles is fully and freely admitted. He may indeed be pronounced the Divinest of men.' "

II

THE BOOKS

THE ANALECTS: THE ODES

THE BOOKS

THE ANALECTS: THE ODES

THE system known as Confucianism has been built upon a group of books. Eleven of these have been of special importance—the five classics, the four books, the Book of Filial Piety and the Family Traditions. We may group these into a list or simple table:

- THE FIVE CLASSICS:
  - *Shu-King*, or book of History
  - *Shi-King*, or book of Odes
  - *I-Ching*, or book of Changes
  - *Li-Chi*, or book of Rites
  - *Chun Chiu*, or Spring and Autumn
- THE FOUR BOOKS:
  - *Ta Heo*, or Great Learning
  - *Lun Yu*, or Analects
  - *Chung Yung*, or Doctrine of the Mean
  - *Mang Tzŭ*, or Mencius
- APOCRYPHAL BOOKS:
  - *Hiao-King*, or book of Filial Piety
  - *Kia Yu*, or book of Family Traditions

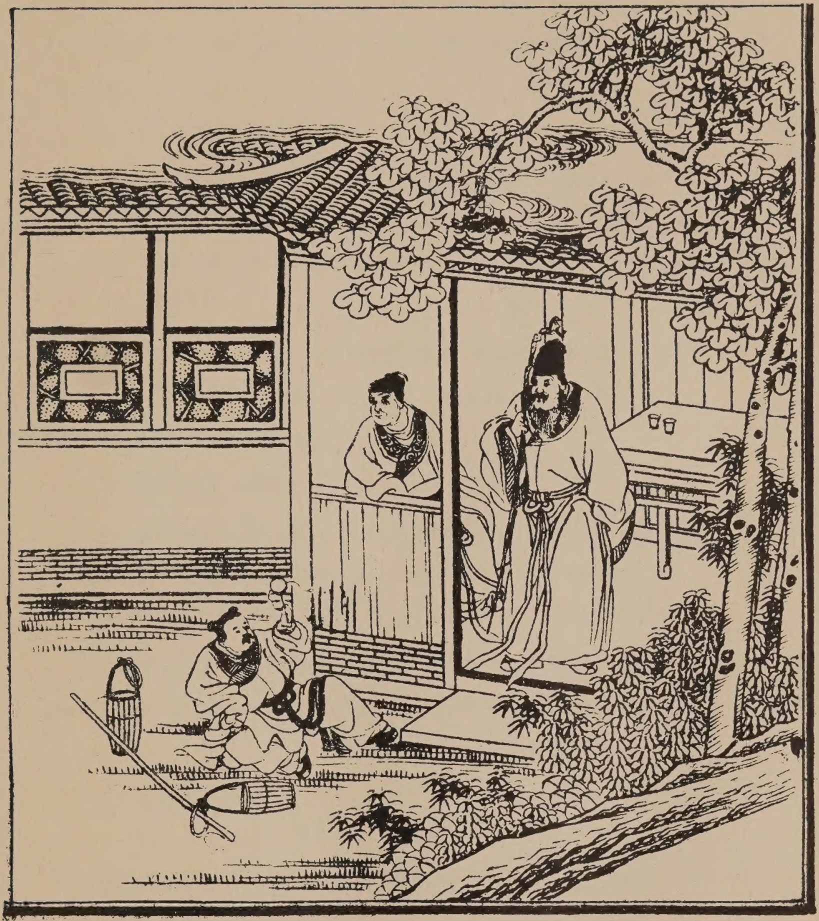
Very little writing can be certainly attributed to Confucius himself. He was in no real sense the author of the Classics. *The Five Classics* making up the recognized canon are, as listed above—the *Shu-King, Shi-King, I-Ching, Li-Chi,* and *Chun Chiu.* Confucius was a profound admirer of the achievements of the past, of the rulers of the good old days; he was a diligent collector of ancient materials and he combined these and arranged them to the best of his knowledge and ability. He says of himself: "I am a transmitter, not an originator." The *Shu-King*, or book of History, consists of annals ranging from 2357 to 627 B.C. The *Shi-King*, or book of Odes, consists of 305 poems, of varying length and differing styles, some of which are believed to date back to the Shang dynasty. The *I-Ching*, or book of Changes, is ascribed to King Wen; it carries a commentary by his son, the Duke of Chow; Confucius may have added an appendix. It is written in an extremely difficult and obscure style. Confucius attributed great importance to it and said: "Given a few more years of life to finish my study of the *I-Ching*, I may be freed from great errors."

The *Li-Chi* or book of Rites, in its accepted canonical form, could not have been known to Confucius. It is partly in his words but must have been written long after his time. There are three known books which deal with the ancient Ceremonial. These are the *I-Li*, the *Chou-Li*, and the *Li-Chi*. While the latter is the one in the actual Canon, it is the latest of the three. Being canonical, it was of course the one that was translated and published by Legge in the *Sacred Books of the East* series. The other two were in existence at the time of Confucius. The *I-Li* seems to be the older. A translation of it into English, the first, appeared only in 1917. The *Chun Chiu*, or Spring and Autumn Classic, is a history of the State of Lu. It is usually attributed to Confucius himself. It is in the nature of annals and covers the period from 722 to 484 B.C. Even here, it is probable that the material is at most worked over from an ancient record. Only a little time before his death Confucius was deeply affected by the appearance of a mysterious animal, the ke-lin. He believed it indicated that his end was near. Perhaps it hastened the completion of the *Chun Chiu*, which was finished only a short time before his death. Of it he said: "It is the Spring and Autumn which will make men know me, and it is the Spring and Autumn which will make men condemn me." Mencius said: "Confucius completed the Spring and Autumn and rebellious ministers and villainous sons were struck with terror."

The Four Books are post-Confucian. Legge says that the expression is an abbreviation for the books of the four philosophers and that each one is attributed to a philosopher. Thus: the *Lun Yu*, or Analects, to Confucius; the *Ta Heo*, or Great Learning, to Tseng Ts'an; the *Chung Yung*, Doctrine of the Mean, to Kung Keih, the grandson of Confucius; *Mencius*, to Mencius, or Mangtze. In reality Confucius speaks through the four books far more than through the five classics. In them we have what is really known to have come from Confucius, together with recollections of the master, opinions regarding him, and commentaries upon his sayings. The *Analects* conveys the completest picture of the man and the best record of his ideas. It is the work of his disciples, put together after his death. Soothill says that the number of three thousand disciples attributed to the master includes all who ever came under his instruction; seventy-two are recognized as his more immediate followers; thirty-six are mentioned by name in the *Analects*, of whom a half-dozen are conspicuous. To these, or to their disciples, he attributes the writing down of these remembrances. The authorship of the Great Learning has been much discussed. It is often attributed directly to Tseng, one of the most famous of the disciples of the Master. It contains one passage that is attributed to Confucius; another passage of commentary appears with Tseng's name; the rest is anonymous. Chusius attributed it to Tseng and his disciples. Legge does not agree with him. He quotes with some approval the suggestion of Kea Kwei, who in the first century B.C. attributed it and the Doctrine of the Mean to K'ung Chi, (Tsu Ssu), the grandson of Confucius, who says: "he therefore made the Great Teaching as the warp and the Doctrine of the Mean as the woof" (of the teaching of the Sages). Legge finds an agreement between the two treatises, which makes their common authorship not un-likely. Although usually thought of as independent treatises, both the Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean are included in *Li Chi*, or Book of Rites. As regards the Doctrine of the Mean, it is no doubt the work of K'ung Chi. I have called him the grandson of Confucius, and it is customary to do so. Soothill seems to consider him the great-grandson. The fourth of the four books is usually considered the very work of Mencius (Mang-tze) whose name it bears.

We have already spoken of the apocryphal book, *Kia Yu*. It only remains then to say a word about *Hiao-King*, the Book of Filial Piety. It is commonly attributed to Tseng Ts'an, who was himself one of the twenty-four examples of whom it treats. Martin says it was probably put into its present form about the first century B.C. and that it is quite in harmony with the ideas of Confucius and enjoys great authority.

As Confucius dealt little with philosophy and left no formal statement of his ethics, we may perhaps get our best idea of his teachings by quotations from the *Analects*. The translations are those of Soothill.



EXAMPLE OF FILIAL PIETY: LAI,

who played the part of an infant to prevent his parents from realizing age.

On several occasions Confucius speaks concerning himself. He made no supernatural claims, he founded no religious system, he pretended to no originality.

The Master said:

> A transmitter and not an originator, a believer in and lover of antiquity, I venture to compare myself with our ancient worthy P'eng. (*An.* vii.i)

As a teacher, his living came largely from the fees of his disciples, yet he made no arbitrary demands upon them.

The Master said:

> From him who has brought his simple present of dried fish, seeking to enter my school, I have never withheld instruction. (vii.vii)

He taught that simplicity of living was desirable; the superior man rises above his surroundings.

The Master said:

> With coarse food to eat, water for drink, and a bent arm for a pillow—even in such a state I could be happy, for wealth and honor ob-

> tained unworthily are to me as a fleeting cloud. (viii.xv)

He required his students to do their own thinking. He did not much favor predigested mental pabulum.

The Master said:

> I expound nothing to him who is not in earnest, nor help out any one not anxious to express himself. When I have demonstrated one angle and he cannot bring me back the other three, then I do not repeat my lesson. (vii.viii)

Alexander says: "When he was at Lo speaking with his friend Chang-hung, philosopher and musician, Confucius said of his teaching: 'As to my doctrines, they are very simple, being none other than those which were held by our unerring guides, Yaou and Shun, and are such as all men ought to follow; and my mode of teaching is still simpler, for I but cite the example of the ancients, exhort my hearers to study the sacred books, and impress upon them the necessity of pondering deeply upon all they may find in them.' "

> Again: The Master said:
>
> Am I indeed a man with (innate) knowledge? I have no such knowledge, but when an uncultivated person, in all simplicity, comes to me with a question, I thresh out its pros and cons until I get to the bottom of it. (ix.vii)

He often tersely stated traits of human character and the qualities of the superior man. Among such statements are:

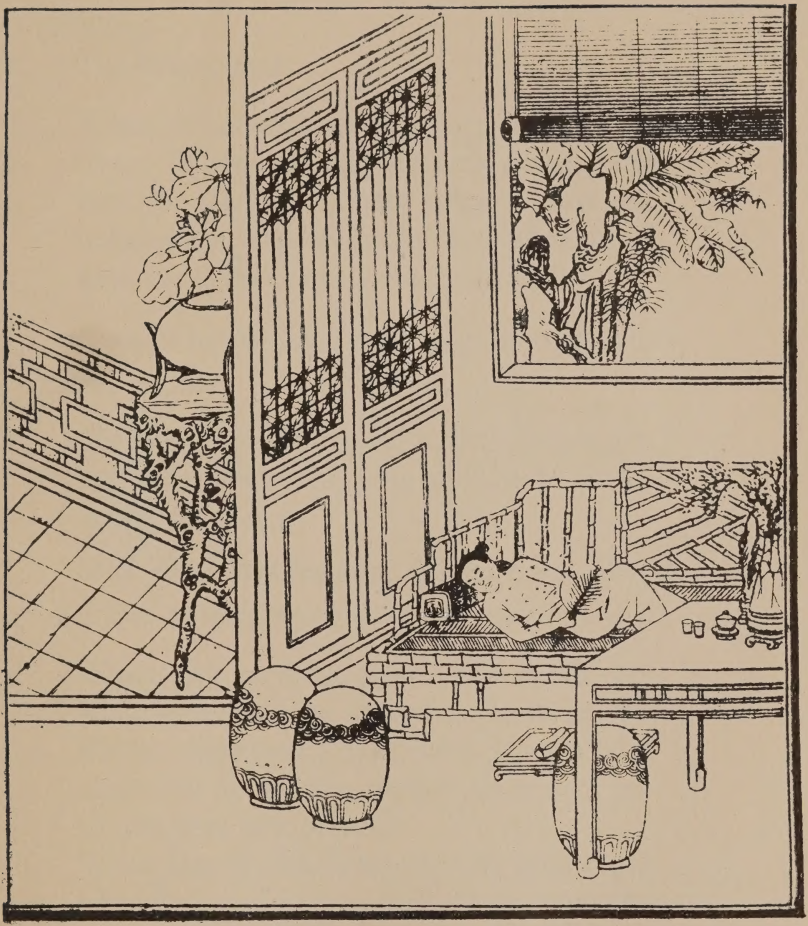
> The true gentleman is friendly, but not familiar; the inferior man is familiar but not friendly. (xiii.xxiii)
>
> Of all people, maids and servants are hardest to keep in your house. If you are friendly with them they lose their deference; if you are reserved with them they resent it. (xvii.xxv)
>
> The higher type of man is modest in what he says, but surpasses in what he does. (xiv.xxix)
>
> It is only the very wisest and the very stupidest who never change. (xvii.iii)
>
> Learning without thought is useless. Thought without learning is dangerous. (ii.xv)
>
> When a youth is at home let him be filial, when abroad respectful to his elders; let him

> be circumspect and truthful, and while exhibiting a comprehensive love for all men, let him ally himself with the good. Having so acted, if he have energy to spare, let him employ it in polite studies. (i.vi)
>
> The young should inspire us with respect. How do we know that their future will not equal our present? But if a man has reached forty or fifty without being heard of, he indeed is incapable of commanding respect. (ix.xxii)

Our brand of democracy is hardly inculcated in Confucianism. Nevertheless nowhere does a real democracy come nearer to achievement than in Confucian China, where the voice of the people is promptly heeded. The basis of Chinese government is expressed in the following:

> When Duke Ching of Ch'i inquired of Confucius the principles of government, Confucius answered saying: Let the Prince be Prince, the minister minister, the father father, and the son son. (xii.xi)

The view regarding human nature is highly important in Confucianism. We shall have to recur to it again and again. For Confucius, human



EXAMPLE OF FILIAL PIETY: WU MANG,
who exposed himself in sleeping that mosquitoes should spare his parents.

nature is originally good, but needs care and training.

The Master said:

> When nature exceeds training you have the rustic. When training exceeds nature you have the clerk. It is only when nature and training are proportionately blended that you have the higher type of man. (vi.xvi)

It seems to me that a truly deep thought is contained in this:

> Chi Wen Tzŭ used to think thrice before acting. The Master hearing of it said: Twice would do. (v.xix)

Men differ and the true teacher must take individual differences into serious consideration.

> When Tzŭ Lu asked whether he should put what he heard into immediate practice, the Master answered: You have parents and elders still living, why should you at once put all you hear into practice?
>
> When Jan Yu asked whether he should put what he heard into immediate practice, the Master answered: Put what you hear at once into practice.

> Kung-Hsi Hua asked:
> When Yu asked if he should put the precepts he heard into immediate practice, you, Sir, replied: You have parents and elders alive; but when Chi'u asked if he should put the precepts he heard into immediate practice, you, Sir, replied: Put what you hear at once into practice. As I am perplexed about your meaning I venture to ask a solution.
> Chi'u, answered the Master, lags behind, so I urged him forward; but Yu has energy for two men, so I held him back. (xi.xxi)

Few of the sayings of Confucius have been more discussed in Christendom than the three that follow:

> Some one asked: What do you think about the principle of rewarding enmity with kindness? With what then, would you reward kindness? asked the Master. Reward enmity with just treatment, and kindness with kindness. (xiv.xxxvi)

This is often stated to fall short of Christian teaching and to be inferior to "turning the other cheek". The question shows in itself that the principle of rewarding enmity with kindness was among the teachings of the day—hence not a specifically "Christian" idea. Confucius' reply is practical, and on the whole more likely to be put into practice even in Christendom.

> Is there any one word, asked Tzŭ Kung, which could be adopted as a lifelong rule of conduct? The Master replied: Is not sympathy the word? Do not do to others, what you would not like yourself.

Such is the famous Confucian statement of the Golden Rule, made about five hundred years before Christ lived. Christian critics emphasize that the form is negative rather than positive; entitled perhaps to be called "the silver rule", as inferior to the form promulgated by Jesus. This looks rather like hair-splitting. The principle is the same whether stated positively or negatively. The principle is stated more than once by the Master, and even Legge admits that in one place it has the "positive" form. We have however quoted the one more generally known.

> When Chi Lu asked about his duty to the spirits the Master replied: While still unable to do your duty to the living, how can you do

> your duty to the dead? When he ventured to ask about death, Confucius answered: Not yet understanding life, how can you understand death?

The Master avoided discussion of what we would consider distinctly religious questions. He was interested primarily and always in life here and in the human relations. There may be gods, spirits, a life beyond; we do not know them; but men, and relations between men, these we know. This attitude of indifference to spiritual, or supernatural things, becomes more pronounced in the later developments of Confucianism.

The teaching of Confucius was distinctly practical and ethical. He emphasized the five human relations:—ruler and subject, parent and child, husband and wife, brothers, friends. The analysis is complete, exhaustive. The relations are reciprocal, in rights and obligations. If the sons owe respect and obedience to the father, the father owes protection and guidance. If the younger brother owes respect to the elder, this one owes advice and aid to him. To regulate the relations, to teach the proper procedure, within each relation, under all circumstances, this is the important thing. There are five moral constants—love, justice, ceremony, wisdom, sincerity. These should be striven after in every relation of life.

While all the Classics were respected and carefully studied, the *Odes* had an especial place in the regard of Confucian scholars. They are quoted on every possible occasion. When a principle had been enunciated, it was developed and expanded and then driven home with a quotation from the *Odes*. The *Odes* and the *Ceremonial* were the two things, and the only two, that were especially recommended by the Master to his son. We shall not take up the other books for especial study, but a few words about the *Odes* may be in place.

The book has been repeatedly translated into European languages and there are several English translations. There are three hundred and five poems in all. Legge recognized three kinds as to content—narrative, metaphorical and allusive. He defines them as follows:

> In a *narrative* piece the poet says what he has to say right out, writing it down in a simple,

straightforward manner, without any hidden meaning reserved in his mind.

In a *metaphorical* piece the poet has under his language a meaning different from what it expresses—a meaning which there should be nothing in the language to indicate—an historical interpretation has to be sought for the metaphorical pieces of the *She*.

The *allusive* pieces are more numerous than the metaphorical. They often commence with a couple of lines which are repeated without change, or with slight rhythmical changes in all the stanzas. In other pieces each stanza has allusive lines peculiar to itself. These are for the most part descriptive of some object or circumstance in the animal or vegetable world, and after them the poet proceeds to his proper subject. Generally, the allusive lines convey a meaning harmonizing with the lines which follow. They are in reality metaphorical, but—in the metaphorical the poet proceeds to state the theme which he is occupied with, while no such intimation is given in the allusive.

We are not here interested in the artistic form of the Odes. This is studied and fully stated by all the translators. But the character of the poems and their content interests us greatly. They are not religious hymns. Some are the simplest of love songs; some express other emotions; many describe daily life; some relate to ceremonials. In learning the metaphors and allusions claimed by commentators, we often feel that much is read into what was really but a simple narrative. In age they range from 1719 B.C. down. The actual work done by Confucius on the book must have been very small. The collection existed long before his time. He is said to have reformed the music to which the poems were sung and he may have altered the arrangement. He gave the book the stamp of his authority and deepened the appreciation of it. Translation of the poems into European languages is difficult. Should the translations be literal, or rather free? Should the original rhythm be retained and should an effort be made to indicate the rhyme? Translations by different students may be so unlike that the reader may almost not realize that they are from one original! The few examples we offer are taken from Legge and from Allen. To show how translators aim at different ends we begin with a short and lively poem, translated by both of these authors. It is the remonstrance of a young lady to her lover, begging him to be more discreet in his attentions. Legge's translation is no doubt nearer the original both in form and exactness of meaning. It is therefore given first:

My worthy Chung, I pray,
Do not in such a way
Into my hamlet bound,
My willow trees to wound.
For them I do not care,
But you my parents scare.
  'Tis their words I fear.
  You Chung have my heart;
  But their words severe
  Will cause me to smart.

My worthy Chung, I pray,
Do not in such a way
Come leaping o'er my wall,
And make the branches fall
From my mulberry tree.
That does not trouble me,
But my brothers all see.

'Tis their words I fear.
You Chung have my heart;
But their words severe
Will cause me to smart.

My worthy Chung, I pray,
Do not in such a way
Into my garden jump
My sandal trees to thump.
For them I do not care,
But people grow aware
What 'tis that brings you there.
'Tis their words I fear.
You Chung have my heart;
But their words severe
Will cause me to smart.

Allen changes the number and form of the stanzas; but, by a change in order and combination says practically all that the poem contains:

I do not grudge the mulberries,
The sandal and the willow trees,
Which clumsily you break
In leaping o'er my garden wall;
But ills far heavier may befall,
Refrain then for my sake.

I love you, but can I assuage
My parents' wrath, my brothers' rage,
Who lecture me and say
That you by coming here provoke
The talk and scandal of the folk?
So prithee keep away.

This seems light and trifling. It is clearly a narrative in Legge's classification.

The deceitful and fickle student lover, who deserts and forgets his lady is no new creature. Students wore a blue collar, and the name of the poem designates a graduate of the first degree. The poem is narrative, and the translation is Legge's.

You student, with the collar blue,
  Long pines my heart with anxious pain.
Although I do not go to you,
  Why from all word do you refrain?

Oh you, with girdle strings of blue,
  My thoughts to you forever roam!
Although I do not go to you,
  Yet why to me should you not come?

How reckless you, how light and wild,
  There by the tower upon the wall!

One day, from sight of you exiled,
As long as three long months I call.

In one ode a certain type of slanderous fellow is described. It is metaphorical and allusive. (*Against Listening to Slanderers.*) Allen renders it thus:

The blue flies float on the summer air,
They are humming and buzzing everywhere.
They pollute each fence, and our trees infest,
Till no spot is clear of this noisome pest.

Some men I know like these loathsome flies,
Who infest the realm with their slanderous lies.
Their hatred and spite they will not restrain,
So confusion, malice and mischief reign.

Ah, be not careless, dear Lord, be wise
And crush these men, as we crush the flies;
Lest the friendships between old friends should fail,
And continuous strife in its stead prevail.

One of the longest of the odes, dating back to before 1076 B.C., gives a detailed account of the rural life of the time. It is too long to reproduce entire, but is an astonishing description. We quote two stanzas of Legge's translation:

The locust in the fifth month beats its thighs;
And in the sixth, its wings the spinner plies.
The next we find the crickets in the field;
Under our eaves, the eighth, they lie concealed;
The ninth, they come and near our doorways
keep;
The tenth, beneath our beds they slily creep.

The rats we smoke out; chinks we fill up tight;—
And close each opening on the north for light,
And plaster wicker doors; then each one says,
"Oh wife and children, this year's toiling days
Are o'er, and soon another year will come;
Enter and dwell in this our cozy home."

For food, the sixth month, plums and vines they
spoil;
The seventh, the beans and sunflower seeds they
boil;
The eighth, they strike the jujube dates all down;
The tenth, they reap the paddy fully grown,
And with the grain make spirits gainst the spring,
Which to the bushy eyebrows comfort bring.

In the seventh month, their food the melons
make;
And in the eighth, the bottle gourds they take.
The ninth, in soups hempseed they largely use
Nor *sonchus* leaves do they for these refuse.
Th' *ailanthus* foul, for other use not good,
They fell, and then for fuel use the wood;—
'Tis thus the labourer is supplied with food.

In one ode an elder brother gives advice to his junior after the death of parents. We give only a fragment of this, from Allen:

Rise early, late retire. All languor shun,
Thus shall your parents glory in their son.
  Be pitiful. 'Twould churlish be and hard
To drive small finches from your stacks and yard.
Let your compassion be evoked no less
For wretches pent in misery and distress.
A little grain refused or given will show
Whether a heart holds kindly thoughts or no.
  Be careful. He that climbs a pine tree tall
Must know that rashness may provoke a fall
And those who by some dread abysses go,
Must plant their footsteps anxiously and slow
And when upon thin ice your way you take

Then tread with caution lest the film should
break.

Some give interesting details of ancient ceremonials. Many are political, holding good rulers up to praise and bad ones to obloquy. Duties of officials are emphasized and dereliction in office is blamed.

III

MENCIUS

THE DEVELOPER

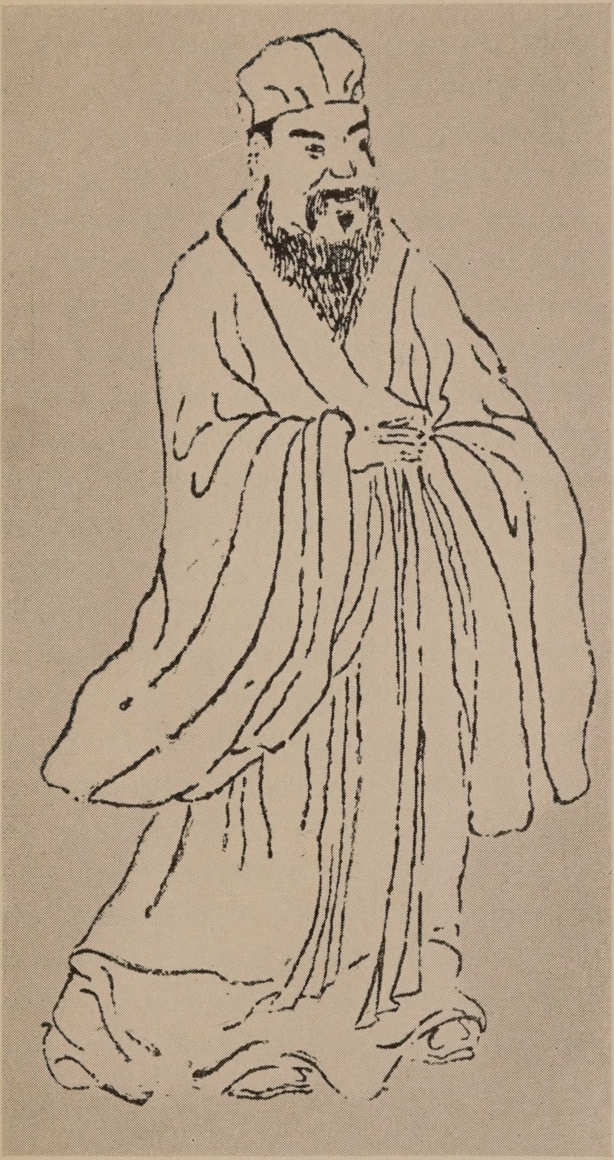
MENCIUS

THE DEVELOPER

THE next great name in the development of Confucianism, after the founder, is Mencius. His name was *Mang* (or Meng) *Ko.* He is commonly called Mang-tsŭ (or *tze*). This termination *tze,* here as in *Kung-fu-tze* (Confucius) means "philosopher" and is commonly used with the names of Chinese teachers. When these names are Latinized, this termination becomes *cius* as in Confucius, Mencius. For the sake of uniformity, we shall use these Latinized forms in the names of the successors, where possible. Mencius is often mentioned in terms that rank him next after Confucius. Thus, he is called the Second Holy One, the Second Sage, etc.

What we know of his life is chiefly taken from his own book. Of it Père Wieger says: "There remains to us from him a book intact, of important content and superb style." This is indeed high praise from Wieger, who dislikes Confucius and is hostile to Confucianism and its *literati*, from the beginning down to the present time. The book may deserve all that the good father says in its favor, but it is far from being a model biography. Legge complains of it: its pages "give the principal incidents of his public life, extending over about twenty-four years. We learn from them that in the course of that time he was in such and such places, and gave expression to such and such opinions; but where he went first and where he went last, it is next to impossible to determine."

His biography may be roughly pieced together somewhat as follows: He was born in Tsou, within what is now the province of Shantung, B.C. 372. We have some stories in regard to his childhood. As to his higher education we can only guess. Giles says he was a disciple of Kung Chi, the grandson of Confucius. This is practically impossible. Giles himself gives the birth date of Kung Chi as about 500 B.C. Mencius was born, B.C. 372, at which time Kung Chi would have been one hundred and twenty-eight years old. It is probable that Mencius knew and was influenced by Kung Chi's disciples. It is known that he married and it is surmised that his marriage was



MENCIUS (*From Wieger*)

unhappy. He probably had children. At about forty-five years of age, he went to the state of Ch'i, where he was an adviser of the ruler Hsüan. Dissatisfied, he left Ch'i, and wandered from state to state. He was well received in Liang and remained there for some time as an adviser of Prince Hui. On the death of this ruler in 319 B.C., Mencius returned to the court of Ch'i, where he remained until 311 B.C., when he retired permanently from service. He devoted his remaining years to teaching and to the preparation of his book, in which he was assisted by his disciples. It is somewhat like the *Analects*, and contains incidents in his life and fragments of his teaching. Mencius died B.C. 289.

Stories regarding his mother have been often repeated. As his father died when the boy was young, the rearing of the child was in her hands. She was a woman of strong character and was much concerned about his education. It seems that they lived for a time near a cemetery and the boy was soon playing at what he saw in connection with funerals. "This is no place for my son to grow up in," she said, and removed. This time they were near the market place and the child was soon playing at the sordid selling and haggling, which he witnessed. Again the mother considered the influences harmful and again made a change of residence. They were now close by a public school and the impressionable boy was soon imitating the refinements and courtesies taught to and practised by the pupils. Here the mother said: "This is the proper place for my son."

Still the boy was far from perfect. He was now attending school. One day he returned home while his mother was weaving at the loom. She inquired what progress he was making in his studies. He answered with an air of indifference that he was doing well enough. She seized a knife and slashed the strips of cloth she had been weaving. The boy, alarmed, asked her what she meant. She replied that she was but doing as he did—neglecting and destroying her work. It is said that her rebuke was effective.

His regard and respect for his mother lasted through his life. When she died, he was already esteemed and recognized, serving the prince of Ch'i. She had been living there with him but he had her remains taken to Lu, that they might be buried near the graves of his father and ancestors. The funeral was celebrated with such magnificence as to astonish his disciples and call forth criticism. In defence, he asserted that one should not be niggardly toward parents, and that it was fitting that he should carry the ceremonial through in keeping with his financial ability.

Though not actually a disciple of Kung Chi, Mencius was influenced by his teachings. He was no doubt familiar with the Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean. Père Wieger, in tracing the development of Confucianism, recognizes several successive phases, one growing out of the other. Thus, from the simple teaching of Confucius, there developed in succession what he calls Utopian, Pragmatic, Philosophical and Substantive or Intuitive Confucianism. His Utopian Confucianism is exemplified by Kung Chi and Mencius. He summarizes it as follows

> 1. Kung Chi. Natural goodness. The neutral point, the Mean. Control of the Heart. —The Sages. The triad Heaven-Earth-Sage. The five relations and the three qualities. 2. Mencius. Psychology and morality. Nat-

> ural goodness. The heart of a child. Intuition. —Ceremonial (Conformity). Humanity and equity.—Intelligence. Reason—Tendency toward perfection.—The Sage. Disciples.—Filial piety—The pole-star. The Emperor-father. Politics and administration.—Polemics.

It is a fair outline of the teachings of the school and Wieger develops it in detail. While his presentation is admirable, it rarely includes actual translation of the words of the teachers. It is rather a condensed statement in orderly form of their teachings. In so far then as we state and illustrate the attitude and teachings of Mencius we shall quote from Legge. First, however, we must make a few general statements. Mencius was rigidly loyal to Confucius. He reiterates the teachings of the Master and rarely strays from the narrow Confucian path. Although he states the contrary, he was fond of argument and was a skilled dialectitian. Père Wieger believes that he was at times unjust to his opponents, presenting extreme statements of their views. There were three men, prominent at the time and each with followers, against whom he especially contended—Heu Hing, Mo-ti and Yang Chu. Heu Hing taught that every man should live by agricultural labor, supporting himself by the product of his own work. Mo-ti, both an able man and a kindly spirit, taught "universal love", an extreme altruism. Yang Chu founded a school of ethical egoism. Mencius, after his fashion, stated the views of the two latter in an extreme form saying that Yang Chu "would not have parted with one hair of his body to save the whole world, while Mo-ti would have sacrificed all under such circumstances." Of this polemic Giles says that Mencius "snuffed out the heretical doctrines of Mo-ti and Yang Chu." Wieger calls attention to the really curious fact that Mencius never refers to Laotze. Of course he must have known the viewpoint and teachings of the "Old Sage" and also of Chuang Chou (Chuang-tzŭ) the most able exponent of Laotze's views. Chuang-tzŭ in fact was his contemporary and constantly assailed both Mo-ti and Confucianism. Yet Mencius kept silent. Père Wieger suggests two reasons—(a) a secret inclination on his own part towards Taoist ideas; and (b) a fear of

Chuang-tzŭ who was a truly formidable opponent—and inclines to think that both operated. With Mencius we find a greater tendency toward philosophy than in Confucius. Psychology and metaphysics are entering Confucian thought.

In summing up the character and work of Mencius, Legge says:

> But while we are not to look to Mencius for new truths, the peculiarities of his natural character were more striking than those of his master. There was an element of "the heroical" about him. He was a dialectitian moreover. If he did not like disputation, as he protested that he did not, when forced to it, he showed himself a master of the art. An ingenuity and subtlety which we cannot but enjoy mark his reasoning. We have more sympathy with him than with Confucius. He comes closer to us. He is not so aweful, but he is more admirable. The doctrines of the Sages take a tinge from his mind in passing through it and it is with that Mencian character about them that they are now held by the cultivated classes and by readers generally.

Another writer (Confucian Lands) says: "Mencius was far more Socratic in his method of teaching than his Master and superior also in the wealth and aptness of his illustrations."

There are passages in the book of Mencius which deal with the man's own character. Thus, he says:

> I like fish and I also like bear's paws. If I cannot get both together, I will let the fish go and take the bear's paws. So I like life and I also like righteousness. If I cannot keep the two together, I will let life go and choose righteousness.

生 - 義

> Mencius said:
>
> There is no greater delight than to be conscious of sincerity on self-examination.
>
> Mencius said:
>
> He who loves others is always loved by them, and he who respects others is always respected by them.
>
> Here is a man who treats me in a perverse and unreasonable manner;—[as] a superior man, I will turn around upon myself, [and say,] 'I must have been wanting in benevolence; I must have been devoid of propri-

ety;—how [else] should this have happened to [me]?'

Having thus examined myself, I am [especially] benevolent, and [especially] observant of propriety. If the perversity and unreasonableness of the other be still the same, [as] a superior man, [I will say,] 'I must have been failing to do my utmost'. I again turn around upon myself, and proceed to do my utmost. If the perversity and unreasonableness of the other be still the same [as] a superior man, I will say, 'This is a man utterly lost indeed. Since he conducts himself so, there is nothing to choose between him and a beast; why should I go to trouble myself about a beast?'

X

告子

A fundamental element in the teaching of Mencius is that human nature is good. But while human nature is good it must be trained and cultivated. It must be kept from going wrong. Kaou-tzŭ said: "Man's nature is indifferent to good and evil, just as water is indifferent to the east and west."

Mencius replied:

Water indeed will flow indifferently to the

> east or west, but will it flow indifferently up or down? The [tendency of] man's nature to goodness is like the [tendency of] water to flow downward. There are none but have [this tendency to] goodness, [just as] water flows downward.
>
> Now by striking water, and causing it to leap up, you may make it go over your forehead; and by damming and leading it, you may make it go uphill; but are [such movements according to] the nature of water? It is the force applied which causes them. In the case of a man's being made to do what is not good, his nature is dealt with in this way.

Later, in the same conversation, Mencius says:

> Therefore if it receive its proper nourishment, there is nothing which will not grow; if it lose its proper nourishment, there is nothing which will not decay away.

In training and education it is wise to encourage simple living.

Mencius said:

> For nourishing the mind there is nothing better than to make the desires few.
>
> Here is a man whose desires are few;—there

> may be some [right qualities] not kept in his heart, but they will be few.
> Here is a man whose desires are many; there may be some [right qualities] kept in his heart, but they will be few.

How men are sensible of bodily defects, however slight, but are not sensible of mental and moral defects, is the chapter heading for the following passage:

Mencius said:

> Here is a man whose fourth finger is bent, and cannot be stretched out straight. It is not painful, nor does it incommode his business; but if there were anyone who could make it straight, he would not think it far to go all the way from Ts'in to Ts'oo [to find him];—because his finger is not like those of other people. When a man's finger is not like other people's, he knows to feel dissatisfied; but when his mind is not like other people's, he does not know to feel dissatisfied. This is what is called—ignorance of the relative [importance of things].

Confucius emphasized the quality of benevolence. Though Mencius adds three other qualities in his teaching, he still emphasizes benevolence.

Mencius said:

> Benevolence subdues its opposite just as water subdues fire. Those, however, who nowadays practice benevolence [do it] as if with a cup of water they could save a whole wagon-load of faggots which was on fire, and when the flames were not extinguished were to say that water cannot subdue fire. Such a course, moreover, is the greatest aid to what is not benevolent.

Repeatedly he states characteristics of the superior man. These are often stated in brief isolated statements, but they are usually headed to suggest their content.

Mencius said:

> The great man is he who does not lose his child heart.
> The great man does not think beforehand of his words that they shall be sincere, nor of his actions that they shall be resolute;—he simply [speaks and does] what is right.
> What future misery are they sure to have to endure who talk of what is not good in others.

The truly superior man is not elevated by prosperity, nor depressed by adversity; he is above circumstances and is naturally adjusted to any situation in which he finds himself. In this specific case, it is one of the Sage-Kings that furnishes the illustration.

Mencius said:

> Shun ate [his] parched grain, and partook of [his] coarse herbs, as if he were to be doing so all his life. When he became emperor, and had the embroidered robes to wear, [his] lute to play on, and [Yaou's] two daughters to wait on him, he was as if those things belong to him as a matter of course.

In his advice to rulers Mencius was at once outspoken and reserved. He often left the lesson to be inferred, rather than too clearly make the personal application. His advice in regard to the selection of public servants was:

> When all those about you say [of a man], 'he is a man of talents and virtue' do not immediately [believe them]. When your great officers all say, 'He is a man of talents and virtue' do not immediately [believe

> them]. When your people all say, ‘He is a man of talents and virtue’, then examine into his character; and when you find that he is such indeed, then afterwards employ him. When all those about say, ‘He will not do,’ do not listen to them. When your great officers all say, ‘He will not do’, do not listen to them. When your people all say, ‘He will not do’, then examine into his character; and when you find that he will not do, then afterwards send him away. When those about you all say [of a man] ‘He deserves death’, do not listen to them. When your great officers all say, ‘He deserves death’, do not listen to them. When your people all say, ‘He deserves death’, then examine into his case; and when you find that he deserves death, then afterwards put him to death. In accordance with this we have the saying, ‘The people put him to death.’
> Act in this way and you will be the parent of the people.

Which is of course the great ideal. The good ruler is the parent of the people. The King of Leang asked: “May a subject put his ruler to death?” It was a delicate question and was put in connection with the specific case of Chou, the last emperor of the Shang dynasty against whom the outraged people rose in arms. Mencius held that he had ceased to be a ruler, through his crimes. He said:

> He who outrages benevolence is called a ruffian; he who outrages righteousness is called a villain. The ruffian and villain we call a mere fellow. I have heard of the cutting off of the fellow Chou; I have not heard of the putting a ruler to death [in his case].

When he was at T'ang, Duke Wan asked: "T'ang is a small state and lies between Ts'e and T'soo. Shall I serve Ts'e; or Ts'oo?" The answer was in accord with our new theory of "self-determination". Mencius replied:

> This is a matter in which I cannot counsel you. If you will have me speak, there is but one thing [I can suggest]. Dig [deep] your moats; build [strong] your walls; then guard them along with the people; be prepared to die [in their defence], and [have] the people [so that] they will not leave you: —This is a course which may be put in practice.

His ideas in political economy were definite and he counselled the conservation of natural resources and the application of game laws.

> If the seasons of husbandry be not interfered with, the grain will be more than can be eaten. If close nets are not allowed to enter the pools and ponds, the fish and turtles will be more than can be consumed. If the axes and bills enter the hill-forests [only] at the proper times, the wood will be more than can be used. When the grain and fish and turtles are more than can be eaten, and there is more wood than can be used, this enables the people to nourish their living and do all offices for their dead, without any feeling against any. [But] this condition, in which [the people] nourish their living, and do all their offices to their dead without having any feeling against any, is the first step in the Royal way.
>
> Let mulberry-trees be planted about the homesteads with their five acres, and persons of fifty years will be able to wear silk. In keeping fowls, pigs, dogs, and swine, let not their times of breeding be neglected, and persons of seventy years will be able to eat flesh.

Let there not be taken away the time that is proper for the cultivation of the field-allotment of a hundred acres, and the family of several mouths will not suffer from hunger. Let careful attention be paid to the teaching in the various schools, with repeated inculcation of the filial and fraternal duties, and gray-haired men will not be seen upon the roads, carrying burdens on their backs or on their heads. It has never been that [the ruler of a state] where these results were seen, persons of seventy wearing silk and eating flesh, and the black haired people suffering neither from hunger nor cold, did not attain to the Royal dignity.

Your dogs and swine eat the food of men, and you do not know how to store up [of the abundance]. There are people dying from famine on the roads, and you do not know to issue [your stores for their relief]. When men die you say, 'It is not owing to me; it is owing to the year'. In what does this differ from stabbing a man and killing him, and then saying, 'It is not I; it was the weapon?' Let your Majesty cease to lay the blame on the year, and instantly the people, all under the sky, will come to you.

The ruler, being parent of the people, owes them an example in all the affairs of life.

> Treat with reverence due to age the elders in your own family, so that those in the families of others shall be similarly treated; treat with the kindness due to youth the young in your own family, so that those in the families of others shall be similarly treated:—do this and the kingdom may be made to go around in your palm.

King Seuen was fond of music. Had it been the ancient music the fact would have been much in his favor. However, it was the new music of the time, and his indulgence in it worked to the disadvantage of his people. Mencius turned the conversation to music. The embarrassed ruler admitted that he did not love the old music, which would tend to good government, but only the up-to-date music. The teacher stated that the music of the day should be equal to that of antiquity, if properly enjoyed. The king then asked to hear more upon the subject. Mencius asked:

> Which is the more pleasant, to enjoy music

by yourself alone, or to enjoy it along with others?

"To enjoy it along with others," said [the king].

And which is the more pleasant, to enjoy music along with a few, or to enjoy it along with many?

"To enjoy it along with many" replied [the king].

(Mencius went on) Will you allow your servants to speak to your Majesty about music? Your Majesty is having music here.—The people hear the sound of your bells and drums, and the notes of your reeds and flutes, and they all, with aching heads, knit their brows, and say to one another, 'That's how our king loves music! But why does he reduce us to this extremity [of distress]? Fathers and sons do not see one another; elder brothers and younger brothers, wives and children, are separated and scattered abroad.' Again, your Majesty is hunting here. The people hear the noise of your carriages and horses, and see the beauty of your plumes and pennons, and they all, with aching heads, knit their brows and say to one another, 'That's how our king loves hunting! But why does he reduce us to this extremity of distress? Fathers and sons do not see one another; elder brothers and younger brothers, wives and children, are separated and scattered abroad.' This is from no other cause, but that you do not give the people pleasure as well as yourself.

Your Majesty is having music here.—The people hear the sound of your bells and drums, and the notes of your reeds and flutes, and they all, delighted and with joyful looks say to one another, 'That sounds as if our king were free from all sickness! What fine music he is able to have!' Again, your Majesty is hunting here.—The people hear the noise of your carriages and horses and see the beauty of your plumes and pennons, and they all, delighted and with joyful looks, say to one another, 'That looks as if our king were free from all sickness! How he is able to hunt!' This is from no other reason but that you cause the people to have pleasure as well as yourself.

If your Majesty now will make pleasure a thing common to the people and yourself, the Royal sway awaits you.

We shall not enter into details regarding the polemics of Mencius, contenting ourselves with a single citation. To the Confucian it is evident that there must be both rulers and ruled, and that the rulers are properly supported by the ruled. Also that a division of labor and an exchange of products is natural in every developed society. To the state of Tang, where Mencius was at the moment, came Heu Hing, with his disciples, all dressed in hair-cloth and shod with hemp sandals, made by themselves. He taught that all should return to the land and live on the fruits of their own labor; that even the rulers should do the same, though continuing to govern. Some who had been Confucians were carried away by the new teaching. One such came to Mencius and tried to maintain the principle. He was sternly rebuked for his abandonment of sound doctrine. The argument made by Mencius is too long for full presentation. We give only its beginning and ending. Mencius said:

> Mr. Heu, I suppose, sows grain and eats [the produce]?
>
> "Yes", was the reply.

I suppose he [also] weaves cloth, and wears his own manufacture?
"No, he wears clothes of hair-cloth."
Does he wear a cap?
"He wears a cap."
What kind of a cap?
"A plain cap."
Is it woven by himself?
"No; he gets it in exchange for grain."
Why does he not weave it himself?"
"That would be injurious to his husbandry."
Does he cook his food with boilers and earthenware pans, and plough with an iron share?
"Yes."
Does he make them himself?
"No; he gets them in exchange for grain."

Mencius then said:

The getting such articles in exchange for grain is not oppressive to the potter and the founder; and are the potter and founder oppressive to the husbandman, when they give him their various articles in exchange for grain? Moreover, why does Heu not act the potter and founder, and supply himself with the articles which he uses solely from his own establishment? Why does he go confusedly

> dealing and exchanging with the handicraftsmen?

The argument ends:

> It is in the nature of things to be of unequal quality. Some are twice, some five times, some ten times, some a hundred times, some a thousand times, some ten thousand times as valuable as others. If you reduce them all to the same standard, that would throw all under heaven into confusion. If large shoes and small shoes were of the same price, would people make them? If people were to follow the doctrines of Heu, they would [only] lead on one another to practice deceit;—how can they avail for the government of a State?

The first serious commentary upon Mencius was that of Chao Ch'i, who was born 108 A.D. and died 201 A.D., being more than ninety years of age. The work was done under extraordinary difficulties. Chao was a fugitive in hiding at the time. He himself tells us just what he did in the work.

> I wished to set my mind on some literary work, by which I might be assisted to the

> government of my thoughts, and forget the approach of old age. But the six classics had all been explained and carefully elucidated by previous scholars. Of all the orthodox school there was only Mencius, wide and deep, minute and exquisite, yet obscure at times and hard to see through, who seemed to me to deserve to be properly ordered and digested. Upon this I brought forth whatever I had learned, collected testimonies from the classics and other books, and divided my author into chapters and sentences. My annotations are given along with the original text, and of every chapter I have separately indicated the scope. The Books I have divided into two Parts, the first and second, making in all fourteen sections.

Since then appreciation of Mencius has deepened and widened. His name is always mentioned in direct connection with that of Confucius himself. In leaving him we quote from two writers, who view him from quite different standpoints.

Soothill reads into him as much *religion* as possible. Like most of the missionary writers (especially the earlier ones) he is interested in comparing the views of the old Chinese teachers with the teachings of Christianity and judging them by the distance they fall short. They eagerly seek for evidences of an early recognition of a personal god and seem to find a particular satisfaction in claiming that Chinese religious thought fell away from an originally high ideal. They emphasize the difference between *Shang Ti*, a personal God, and *Tien* Heaven, an impersonal "Supreme Power."

Soothill says:

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> Like Confucius he recognizes a Supreme Power above men, and again like Confucius he employs the impersonal term Heaven to indicate this power. Only three times does he use the personal term Shang Ti and in two of the cases as a quotation from the older Classics. Heaven is the Cause of Causes, the First Cause. Man's nature is of Heaven's conferring. It is therefore good in essence, but this goodness requires constant cultivation in order to its maintenance and development. To some, by natural capacity, such cultivation is easier than to others, but all men are called to, and capable of, virtue. Men, it is true, are

evil in practice, but they recognize their evil deeds as contrary to the Heaven-bestowed instincts. Even the evil man, if he mourn and purify himself may serve God (Shang Ti). Thus repentance towards God and the cultivation of virtue are clearly demanded. Heaven has also subordinated the people under princes and leaders, who should assist God, that is, not only, in governing the people, but in leading them in the right way. When they cease to do so, they may be deposed, for the people are chief, the tutelary deities second, and the prince third.

Mencius followed Confucius in maintaining the State sacrifices to Heaven, and to the Nature spirits or tutelary deities, and of course also to the ancestors. But he concerns himself less with sacrifices than with the inculcation of morals, which are those of his Master. In like manner he concerns himself little with the future destiny of man, for while not denying a future life—indeed tacitly recognizing it in the offices for the dead—he limits his attention to the duties of the present rather than the possibilities of the future life.

Suzuki is less interested in finding a personal God, or repentance toward God, or princes assisting God. He is more anxious to find what, if any, philosophical development has taken place in Confucian ideas as passing through the hand of Mencius. He says:

> Thus the Confucius's fellow feeling (benevolence) has undergone through Mencius a more analytical consideration, and his teaching has developed into the form in which we have it today. That is to say, the Confucian ethics started in the teaching of human-heartedness or the feeling of fellowship, which is possessed by every human being, by every social animal that is capable of associating with others and developing a consciousness of social solidarity. This fundamental feeling, though only rudimentarily present in the human heart, can be matured to its full power through a constant vigilance over oneself at all times, not only when one is alone, but when one comes into contact with the world. And this vigilance over the heart must begin with the cultivation of the sense of reverence for one's own personality as a moral being. If a man have no regard for his ethical

character, he would surely sink to the level of the lower animals. And this self-reverence, in other words, means to be sincere to one's own inner constitution, which is good and above egoistic interests. If human nature were not good, sincerity to oneself might come to mean an unrestrained gratification of selfishness; for then no moral law could be sacred to one but that of one's own nature. Some one might exclaim: "As I am the devil's child, I will live from the devil." This sort of sincerity will surely contradict the spirit of the Confucian doctrine of fellow-feeling, and so proclaims Mencius: "The nature of man is good." This is the consistent development of the Confucian ethics. But Mencius did not stop here, for he added another virtue to man's moral being, the virtue of righteousness, and two more, propriety and intelligence; and he made all these four the most fundamental virtues possessed by man, which ought to be developed in order to perfect moral personality and to benefit the world through this perfection.

IV

HSÜNCIUS:

THE MOULDER—HERETIC

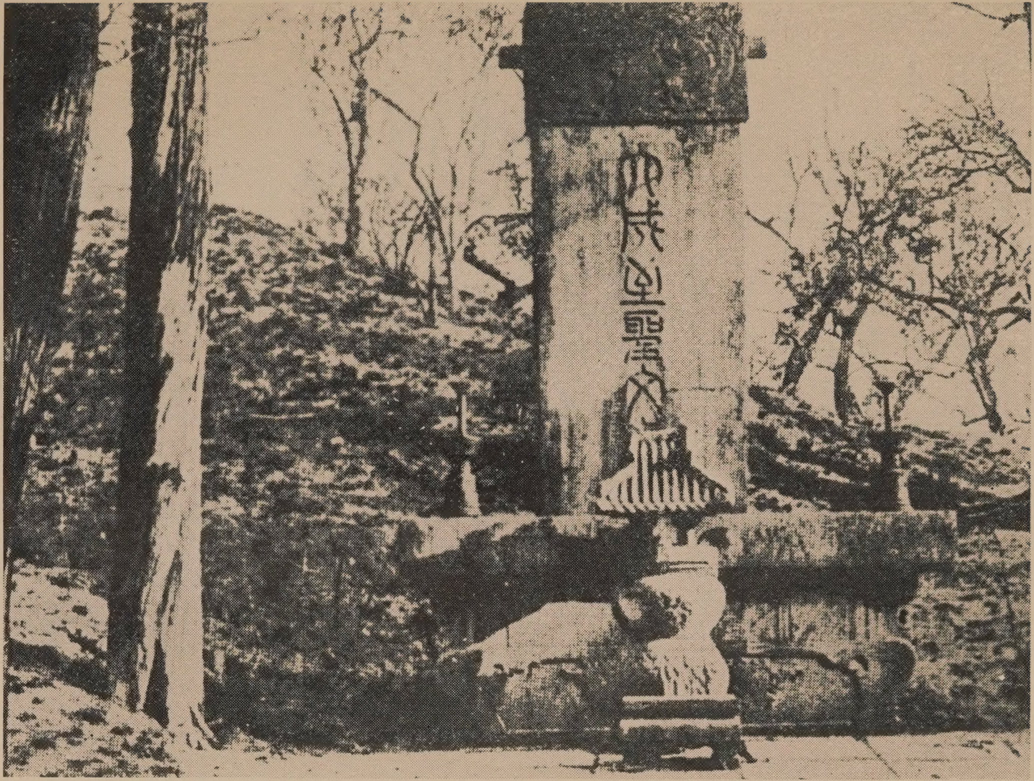
HSÜNCIUS:

THE MOULDER-HERETIC

One of the most important of Confucian writers has been greatly neglected. While everyone has heard of Confucius, Mencius and Chusius, few seem to know anything of Hsüntze (or Hsüncius). To him we must now give attention. Legge translated his theory of human nature for incorporation in his book on Mencius; Père Wieger recognized his importance and attributed *Confuciisme pragmatique* (Pragmatic Confucianism) to him. But it was only in 1927 and 1928 that he was adequately treated for the English-reading student. Homer H. Dubs has made an appreciative study of the man and his works, the results of which are now available in two interesting volumes—*Hsüntze, the Moulder of Ancient Confucianism* and *Hsüntze's Works*. It is now possible to get a real idea of the significance of Hsüncius in the history of Confucianism. For the material of this chapter we depend almost entirely upon these volumes, with occasional reference to Wieger.

Doctor Dubs suggests a parallel between three Greek philosophers and three of the Confucian school. The parallel is suggestive and interesting if it is not carried too far. Socrates, Plato and Aristotle stand to Greek philosophy somewhat as Confucius, Mencius and Hsüncius do to Chinese thought. This is as true of the personality of the men as of their teaching. Socrates and Confucius present a certain primitive and rugged type; Plato and Mencius come nearer to the common man and have a greater polish; Aristotle and Hsüncius were systematizers, who put things into definite relations and worked out consistent schemes.

The actual name of Hsüncius was Hsün K'uang. Born about 320 B.C. in the state of Chao, his life lapped that of Mencius who was more than fifty years of age when Hsün was born. Of his early years little is known. When he was fifty, he wandered to Ch'i, where he became known and was appointed to make the wine-offering at the great sacrifice. This should have meant his steady



THE GRAVE OF CONFUCIUS

advancement, but jealousy and hostility on the part of some of the advisers of the king interrupted his career. He left Ch'i and travelled from state to state. When about sixty-five years of age, he was appointed magistrate of Lanling in the state of Ch'u, a position which he held for eighteen years. With the death of his patron, he was dismissed from office but remained in Ch'u where he taught and wrote until his death, which took place in B.C. 235, when he was eighty-five years old. Although Hsüncius never had the throng of disciples that Confucius and Mencius attracted, some of those who heard him rose to fame and position—as Li Ssŭ and Han Fei Tzŭ. The magistracy which he so long exercised at Lanling was of no great importance and neither he nor his disciples felt it to be commensurate with his ability and deserts.

We have, however, a much more satisfactory presentation of his ideas than of either of his two great predecessors. Dubs says:

> It is interesting to compare the three great Confucians, Confucius, Mencius and Hsüntze in respect of their writings. Confucius

> never wrote any account of his teachings. The only account of his philosophy that we have is a series of brief sayings written down by his disciples, the *Analects*. He himself composed only a history of his native state, Lu, but it is dry, terse, even wooden.
>
> The substance of Mencius' writings is conversation, but it is broken up; it is an incoherent account of anecdotes and a series of dialogues, reproducing the sage's remarks on all possible details of individual, family, and official life. In Hsüntze's writings all this is changed—we find continuous development of a theme through a whole chapter, with long involved sentences; or short essays on a given subject. We find a topic broken up into sub-heads and each sub-head developed in order—we find a master of the essentials of composition. While there may not be the vividness of exposition found in Mencius, yet there is a cogency of argument, a closeness of reasoning, and an analytic power which shows a mind of the first order.

Père Wieger presents a summary of Hsüncius' philosophy as follows: A. Nature is evil. Law. Its origin.—B. Naturism.—C. Rationalism.—D. Mitigated Traditionalism.—E. Against the Sophists. Psychology.—F. Teaching and Study.—G. Conformity (Ritual).—H. Against Divination by Bones.—Conclusion. Though he must dissent from many of the ideas of Hsüncius, Wieger speaks of him with respect and plainly enjoys his vigorous and outspoken expression of ideas. His attitude to Hsüncius is far more friendly than to Confucius, Chusius, and even Mencius.

Doctor Dubs goes much more fully into the teachings of Hsüncius. At the outset, he lists his contributions, specifying thirteen as particularly important:

> In general he gave a stable and consistent foundation and expression to the Confucian philosophy. Confucius edited the *Book of History* and the *Book of Odes*, and composed the *Spring and Autumn*, thus founding his view of life on the Classics; Mencius elaborated his teaching and gave it a tentative foundation: Hsüntze
>
> 1. Developed its logical implications, defended it, and founded it firmly upon an analysis of human nature and a psychological analysis.—The doctrine that

2. he is best known by is the one that human
nature fundamentally tends to evil and needs
training to make it virtuous. Hence the need
for a standard of action imposed by authority.
3. Thus Hsüntze gives a philosophical
foundation to the authoritarianism which
has been one fundamental characteristic of
Confucianism through all the ages, even of
those who have most attacked Hsüntze. This
4. standard of action Hsüntze finds in *Li*,
礼 Ceremony, Propriety or as I prefer to trans-
late it, the Rules of Proper Conduct. It is in
his exaltation of *Li* as the basis of morals that
Hsüntze is most charactertistic of Chinese
thought all through the ages, and it is in this
aspect of morals that China has probably the
greatest contribution to make to the code of
conduct of the rest of the world.
5. Yet Hsüntze does not evade the problem
of epistomology, even though his standard of
conduct for the average man is authoritarian.
He seeks to present the conditions for the
knowledge of truth. But it is moral, not spec-
ulative truth. It is the problem of knowledge
for the practical, not the speculative reason,
that he faces. For ancient China, the great
philosophical problem was "What shall I

do?", not as in ancient Greece, "What can I know?"

6. On the metaphysical side Hsüntze is noteworthy for combining Laotze's concept of the impersonal Tao with the ancient Confucian concept of Heaven and doing away with any personal or anthropomorphic God or spirits.

7. He attacked belief in spirits vigorously, including belief in the existence of the spirits of ancestors and in various kinds of superstitions and fortune telling. This attitude raised for him the

8. problem of reinterpreting the funeral and sacrificial ceremonies which form such a large part of the content of *Li.* Thus Hsüntze is responsible for a large part of the religious agnosticism permeating Chinese educated circles.

9. In his psychology, he makes the mind the ruler of the personality and uses this doctrine

10. to combat theories of desire, holding that desire can be controlled by the mind.

11. In response to a suggestion made by Confucius, he developed a logic, with its classification of fallacies, holding a thoroughgoing conceptualism. In his

> 12. political philosophy he makes explicit the fact that although men are politically equal, yet society and government is founded on human inequality and defends this theory from his analysis of society.
>
> 13. He exposed the fallacies of other schools of thought and made a powerful defence of Confucianism and trenchant attacks upon other philosophers. That such a many-sided and fruitful thinker who is so characteristic of many of the aspects of later Chinese thought should have been neglected by Westerners has resulted in an understanding of Confucianism that has been only partial. Truly Hsüntze was one of the greatest of Chinese thinkers, one of the great philosophers of the world.

To some of these contributions we must give further consideration. We will, however, first call attention to Hsüncius' *fundamental conceptions*:

> The philosophy of Hsüntze is founded on two fundamental conceptions, a certain conception of human nature, and a particular interpretation of history.
>
> A. "Water and fire have essences, but not life; herbs and trees have life, but no knowl-

edge; birds and beasts have knowledge, but no sense of what are rights (*Yi*). Man has an essence, life, knowledge, and in addition has a sense of human rights (*Yi*); hence he is the highest being on earth. His strength is not equal to that of the bull; his running is not equal to that of the horse; yet the bull and the horse are used by him. How is that? Men are able to form social organizations; the former are not able to form social organizations."

B. This interpretation was not new to him, but was inherited from all his predecessors and from the Classics. Up to that time there had been only three dynasties in Chinese history; each had begun with a wise and virtuous ruler; the dynasty gradually degenerated and culminated in a tyrant who was the incarnation of everything evil; whereupon a feudal noble, distinguished for his virtue and benevolent rule, had gathered the righteous forces of the empire, and had overthrown this tyrant almost without a battle, for people's hearts were already turned away from the tyrant and towards this virtuous noble; thus a new dynasty was established, not by force, but by the lack of virtue of the existing dynasty and the existence of great virtue in the new monarch. This theory was for Hsüntze not an interpretation of history, but a fact of history, established by historical evidence and contained in the records themselves. It had been accepted by Confucius, Mencius, Micius and all Confucians. Chuangtze and his school attacked it, and we find in Hsüntze answers to their attacks.

Dubs considers in detail, one after another, the more important elements in Hsün's philosophy and the more salient points in his character. Neither Confucius nor Mencius had indulged in speculative philosophy; Hsüncius definitely *refused* to do so. He was interested in the practical, in morals and morals only:

> "If any affair is beneficial to the right, then establish it; but if it is of no benefit to the right, do away with it. This is what is meant by doing things properly. If any teaching is of benefit to the right, carry it out; if it is of no benefit to the right, reject it. This is what is meant by dealing rightly with teachings." "Ignorance of them will not injure a superior man; knowing them will not prevent anyone

from becoming a small-minded man. Ignorance of them will not prevent a workman or artisan from being skilled; ignorance of them will not prevent a superior man from ruling well."

We have already called attention to the early Confucian idea of Heaven, as an impersonal power. With Hsüncius this idea strengthens. Whatever reference to a personal God may be found in the Classics, the conception now disappears. We have refrained till now from speaking of *Tao*. It is an old idea, especially developed by Laotze and his followers. It becomes clear and definite in Confucian thought with Hsüncius.

天

The two greatest metaphysical concepts of ancient Confucianism were *Heaven* and *Tao*. With Confucius, Heaven was still the connotation of an over-ruling Providence; and Confucius relied upon Heaven for protection. But he refused to attribute any efficacy to prayer, and in general his attitude is expressed in the famous saying: "Respect spiritual beings but keep aloof from them." He put the emphasis upon human conduct rather than upon worship of spiritual beings.

儒学之形而

Mencius took a similar attitude. Confucius did not deny the existence of Heaven as a personalized Deity, but in his practical attitude, he was taking the first step towards depersonalizing Heaven.

天—道
神—道

Thus the trend was towards an impersonal conception of Heaven or God as Law. This attitude had already been taken by Laotze—in the *Tao Teh Ching* the only unorthodox writing which has exercised great influence in Confucian circles. Laotze equated Heaven with *Tao*, and made Heaven the impersonal, ineffable Law, or *Tao*. Hsüntze completes the process of depersonalizing Heaven by taking over Laotze's conception of *Tao* as universal Law, and making Law the meaning of the Confucian concept of Heaven. Of the influence of Laotze upon Hsüntze we have other indications.

When the influence of spiritual agencies upon human life is thus eliminated, man is cast upon his own resources, and the necessity is evident of every man devoting his full attention to self-culture in order to bring about moral and physical advances. If there is a spiritual power in Heaven, then men will depend on Heaven and neglect their own duties; hence Hsüntze feels it a great advantage to do without a belief in a God. He eliminated God to make room for man's accomplishment.

[illegible] 14p

Law is moral Law, a force which makes for righteousness, in the sense that it rewards virtue and punishes vice according to its own nature. This doctrine redeems Hsüntze from the imputation of materialism.

With the disappearance of a personal God, spirits also disappear: Confucius was too full of reverence for the past to deny the reality of spirits, though he would not converse about them. He simply neglected them. Mencius only once mentions spirits, thus showing how far he had escaped from any superstitious belief in them.

Micius (Mo-ti) believed in the reality of spirits as an empirical fact, and taught that they assisted men in virtuous actions. Laotze's attitude—is not clear, but he implies that it is not spirits which injure men, but men who injure each other. (Hsüntze) He was merely making a denial where Confucius was agnostic. He was the first Confucian thinker to deny the reality of spirits.

Hsuntze
[illegible]
[illegible]

Likewise prayer is disposed of. Why pray for

> rain? It will rain anyway whether you pray or not.

The point in Hsüncius' teaching which stands out most conspicuously is his view regarding human nature. Here he was in sharp conflict with Mencius. Consistently Confucian, Hsüncius never attacked the Founder. He was usually in agreement with Mencius. In this matter, however, there was an irreconcilable difference. It was precisely on this point that Hsüncius lost out. But for his independence here he would have been in the line of orthodoxy. As it is, Chusius, who centuries later gave actual finality to orthodox Confucianism, stamped him as a heretic. His many valuable contributions were all overshadowed by the enormity of his claim that *human nature is evil*. The dogma that endeared him to Père Wieger, damned him with the later Confucian scholars.

> With Hsüntze this doctrine did not mean that human nature was totally depraved and without any hope, as in the teaching of Calvin, but rather just the opposite; because human nature tended to evil, each man must all the more work to develop his own nature

towards the right. Human nature merely tends to evil; it has an infinite capacity in the direction of good as well.

Mencius set forth his famous dictum that human nature is good. Man's nature tends to good as water tends to flow downward. It does not need to be forced. The great man is he who does not lose his child heart. The evil in human nature is not because of their original powers but because their nature has become corrupted.

孟子之性

In reply to Mencius, Hsüntze made some very searching criticisms. He showed that according to Mencius' own statement, that human nature is originally good, and that evil is the corruption of that goodness, Mencius would have to admit that everyone has already corrupted their original nature, and that hence as there was no time when men did not have evil desires, etc; human nature was already corrupt at birth! Secondly he showed that according to Mencius' statement that virtue was just the development of innate impulses, there would be no use for the Sage-Kings or for any standards of conduct at all, such as those embodied in the concepts of *Li* and *Yi* (proper conduct and justice).

Here he made a criticism which must have cut very deep. For traditional standards of conduct are the very essence of Confucianism, and yet Mencius' inner source of virtue would logically eliminate all authority. A third criticism was that Mencius did not give any evidence for his assertions on the subject of human nature.

But there was another important feature of Hsüntze's conception of human nature, namely, its infinite improvability. Confucianism was chiefly interested in the ethical development of human beings. Coupled with this interest there was a conviction of the essential quality of human nature. This conviction had appeared in Mencius, and similarly it is expressed by Hsüntze. Mencius held that all men were alike in their original capacity; the Sage is the same in kind as the man in the street. The classical expression of this teaching is the saying "All men may be Yaos and Shuns"; which does not seem to be original with Mencius, but a popular proverb. Men become a Yao or Sage by doing the acts of Yao; or they become a Chi'e (we should say a Nero) by doing the acts of a Chi'e.

The Basis of Ethics is found in the example of the Sage Kings. They were the splendid embodiments of virtue. There were "the earlier kings", Yao, Shun and Yu (B.C. 2357 to B.C. 2205) and "the later kings" Wen, Wu and Duke Chou, who was not actually king but served as regent for his nephew, the son of King Wu (all of the twelfth century B.C.). Between these two worthy trios in time was Tang. These seven names, Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, Wu and Duke Chou, are repeated again and again as paragons, whose deeds are models of virtuous conduct.

The Confucians have never been uncertain of the content of their ethics. It is summed up in the *Way of the Kings,* that code of conduct and government formulated by the ancient Sage-Kings. As Han Yu (A.D. 768-824) wrote; "what I call *the* Way—Yao transmitted it to Shun; Shun transmitted it to King Wen, King Wu, and Duke Chou. Wen, Wu and Duke Chou transmitted it to Confucius, Confucius transmitted it to Mencius."

Confucius, learned in the traditions of his race, passed them on to his pupils by word of mouth, and they say everything through the medium of his remarkable personality. His emphasis was not upon his own writings, but upon the ancient writings, the ancient heroes, and ancient ways. The code of conduct that he advocated was not anything new, but only making plain what was implied in the teaching of the Classics.

Here perhaps is the best place for introducing the five cardinal virtues under their Chinese names. We should keep them in memory. They are considered as fundamental to Confucian thought and they were mentioned at the beginning of our study.

The content of the Confucian ethics can best be discussed by grouping it around the various ethical concepts, *Li, Jen, Yi, Ching,* and *Hsin.*

Roughly *Jen* means benevolence, or humanity. *Li* is propriety, rites, or the rules of proper conduct. *Yi* is right, justice, or righteousness. *Ching* is sincerity, consciousness, loyalty. *Hsin* is veracity or faithfulness.

Jen
Yi
Ching

Taken together they are equivalent to *Tao.* The concept of *Jen* or benevolence became the protagonist for inner morality and *Li* or ceremony the protagonist for outward morality—these two motifs of internal and external morality swayed the Confucians back and forth.

While Confucius never formulated clearly the problem of external versus internal morality, yet he was not satisfied with the moral standards of the day, and so brought forth a principle which at that time was new in Chinese thought.

This was the principle of *Jen* or benevolence, which he made equally important with that of *Li*. In his teaching *Jen* became the symbol of inward morality, and we can see how in his mind the principle of inward morality was unconsciously struggling with that of outward morality.

Confucius made much of the natural and social relationships of father and son, of prince and minister, of older and younger brother, of husband and wife, of friend and friend, and in each case except the last there is a separate virtue distinguishing the relationship, and the attitude of the superior is different from that of the inferior.

Confucianism, while democratic, stressed social stratification. It was a democratic aristocracy of merit that was its ideal. By *Jen* Confucius meant the ideal attitude of the superior to the inferior; not the love of equals, but rather the benevolence of the prince or paterfamilias, kindness rather than love.

Throughout his teaching Mencius stressed the inner virtues more than the outer. Yet he could not emancipate himself from the dominance of customary morality: to have done so would have meant to break with Confucianism and Mencius saw too many values in Confucianism to break with it. In one saying he goes so far as to subordinate everything else to *Li*: "The richest fruit of *Jen* is serving one's parents (filial piety, which is an element in *Li*); the richest fruit of *Yi* (justice or righteousness) is obeying one's older brother (the virtue of brotherly obedience, another element of *Li*); the richest fruit of wisdom is knowing those things; the richest fruit of music is rejoicing in them."

—to Hsüntze, *Li* is the chief virtue, and really the whole of virtue, including every other.—Thus *Li*, which is the standard of conduct and ceremonies to be performed, fits

Hsüntze's conception of virtue much better than any other virtue, and so we are not surprised to find that he has emphasized it almost to the complete exclusion of *Jen.*

Li arises from the need of ordering and nourishing the nature of man, which is originally evil. Its purpose is two-fold: to educate and nourish human nature and to create the distinctions of superior and inferior, which are the basis of human society. It is thus not only a moral but also a social and a political principle. It is the source of government and of strength. Without it the strongest city is unstable. It has three sources: Heaven and Earth brought it to birth; our ancestors made it fit the situation; human rulers and teachers formed it: hence *Li* serves these three. In ceremonial rites there are two elements: doing just as the ancients did, and following people's liking; both of which are expressed in these rites.

"*Li* is that whereby Heaven and Earth unite; whereby the sun and moon are bright; whereby the four seasons are ordered; whereby the stars move in their courses; whereby rivers flow; whereby all things prosper; whereby love and hatred are tempered;

whereby joy and anger keep their proper place. It causes the lower orders of men to obey, and the upper orders to be illustrious; through a myriad changes it prevents going astray. But if one departs from it, he will be destroyed. Is not *Li* the greatest of all principles?"

To Hsüncius is probably due the first formal statement of the Canon:

Connected with divination was the *Book of Changes*, which is fundamentally a system of divination, though now overlaid with moral and metaphysical teaching. It is now one of the Five Classics, and formed one of the foundations of the Sung school reconstruction of Confucian philosophy. But except for a single mention by Confucius stating that he wished he had more years to give to the study of this Book, there is absolutely no mention of it in literature prior to the third century B.C. In view of Confucius' generally agnostic attitude to spirits, and his refusal to discourse upon the supernatural, a good deal of suspicion may be thrown upon this single passage, as inconsistent with his general attitude. It may have been inserted later to validate the inclusion of the *Book of Changes* among the Classics. Confucius urged his disciples to study the *Odes*, the *History* and the *Rites,* but never the *Book of Changes.* In all his copious references and quotations from other literature, Mencius does not mention it at all. More striking is the fact that Hsüntze, who thrice mentions the Classics by name, and who was probably responsible for this canon, omits the *Book of Changes* entirely. The Five Classics, according to him, are the *Rites*, the *Music*, the *Odes*, the *History* and the *Spring and Autumn.* The present canon is the same except that the *Book of Music* is lost and in its place is put the *Book of Changes*. Our present *Book of Rites* is a later composition than the time of Hsüntze, so we are not sure just what composition is referred to by Hsüntze as the *Book of Rites.* It may have been the *I-li*, or it may have been Book I of the present *Book of Rites*, since in one case, where Mencius quotes from the *Book of Rites,* the quotation is found in Book I of the present collection. Similarly we may guess that parts at least, of the lost Book of Music are found in Book XVII of the present *Book of Rites* which is entitled *The Book*

> (or *Record*) *of Music,* since Hsüntze quotes from it. But the omission of reference to the *Book of Changes* is very strange. Either it was not considered worthy of being quoted, as a superstitious work or it was a later fabrication.

There is much else of interest in Hsüntze's teachings. They include some actual psychology, a philosophy of education, a remarkable treatise on the use of terms, a development of logical theory, and a discussion of idealism and the problem of evil. Hsüntze had to meet and combat many other forms of thought. He lived in a period of subtlety of argumentation, of the statement of paradoxes, of hair-splitting. The ideas of Laotze and Mo-ti and many others had been developed and were widely current. They had to be faced and answered. Hsüntze was a valiant champion. He held the Confucian viewpoint against the field. His logic was not merely a theory; it was an art, for which he found abundant opportunity for practice. At the close of his book, Doctor Dubs says:

> In this survey of the development given to

Confucianism by Hsüntze we have seen that he was a true Confucianist. In all the essentials he agreed with Confucius and Mencius. In everything except his theory of ethics and doctrine of human nature, Hsüntze was a disciple of Mencius as well as of Confucius. But none of his predecessors gave a continuous and rounded view of the Confucian teaching. It was an apothegm here and a saying there, brilliant sparks but no luminous picture. Whether because of the invention of easier means of writing (hair pencil about 220 B.C.) or solely because of the systematic character of his mind, Hsüntze was the first of the ancient Confucians to give us a rounded picture of Confucian thought, and the only one to do so in the age in which Confucianism first came to self-expression. Hence the study of Hsüntze reveals, better than any other writer, the true genius of Confucianism, and his writings give us a fuller view of ancient thought than we get anywhere else.

V

CHUCIUS (CHU HSI):

THE DOMINATOR

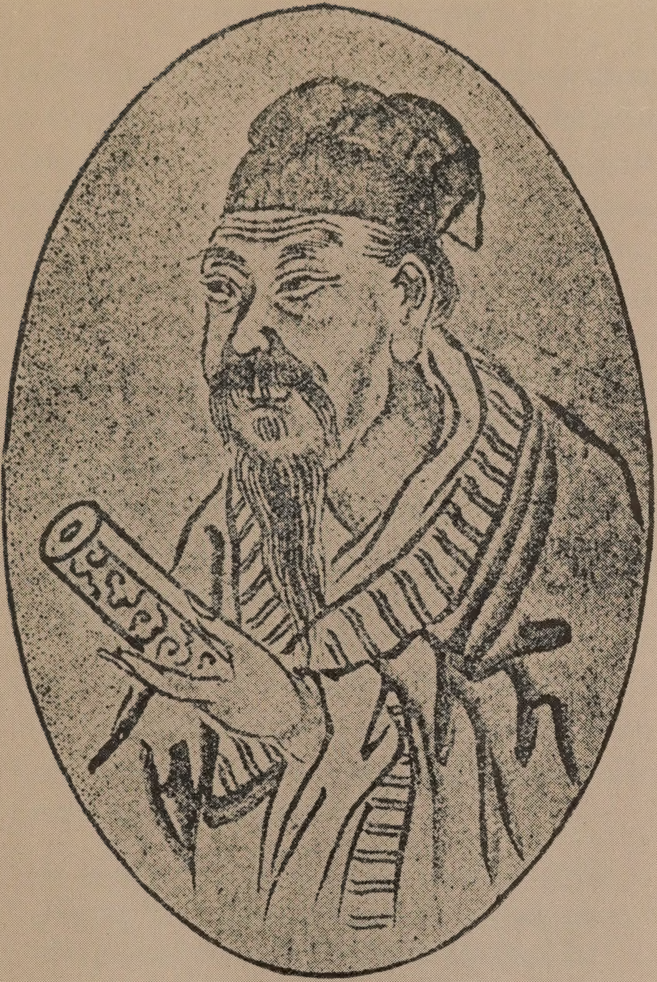
CHUCIUS (CHU HSI):

THE DOMINATOR

FROM Hsüncius to Chucius is a long step. Hsüncius died B.C. 235; Chucius was born A.D. 1130. Thirteen hundred and sixty-five years lie between them. Through that entire period Confucianism was faced by Taoism, which had made a great development both in its philosophical and its religious aspects. But, in addition to Taoism and other purely Chinese systems, Confucianism now had a powerful rival in an alien system, Buddhism. Given official recognition A.D. 65-67, it had for a thousand years made headway in China.

A notable event occurred not long after the death of Hsüncius. The Chow dynasty came to an end about B.C. 221. Its final disappearance was due to Chêng, King of Ch'in. He is one of the most remarkable Chinese in history. He succeeded to the throne of his state on the death of his father, B.C. 247, at which time he was but thirteen years old. By B.C. 221, he had destroyed the last remnant of power in the Chow dynasty, had consolidated China as it had never been consolidated before, and assumed the name Shih Huang Ti, and the title of First Emperor. He thus founded the Ch'in dynasty and arranged that his successors should bear the titles Second Emperor, Third Emperor, etc. He divided his empire into thirty-six administrative districts and established his capital at Hsien Yang, Shensi. It was he who ordered the construction of the Great Wall, to protect China against the northern Tartars. He introduced an improved currency system. He replaced the ancient stylus and bamboo tablets—used in book production before his time—by the more convenient hair pencil and silk. He was, however, a tyrant and extravagant in expenditure. Famous for the construction of the Great Wall, he is even more famous for "the destruction of books".

Curiously enough, this was done at the instigation of a scholar, Li Ssu, who had been a disciple of Hsüncius. He advised the emperor to destroy all books except those treating of medicine, agriculture and divination. Two motives are believed to have operated: a) the desire to be rid



CHUCIUS (*From Wieger*)

of records which might reprobate his acts or cause comparison disadvantageous to him with the great rulers of the past; b) the wish that all progress and advance in culture should date from his time. The order of destruction was backed by penalties; whoever failed to bring in books for destruction, or concealed them in order to save them, was subject to four years of labor on the Great Wall, and to branding. It is no wonder that such an order, carrying such severe penalties, should have caused bitter criticism. It is said that the emperor caused four hundred and sixty *literati* to be buried alive, for treasonable language.

In view of the destruction of the books and the execution of so many scholars, doubt might easily arise as to the authenticity of the books on which Confucianism is based. Legge gives considerable consideration to the question:

> It is to be noted moreover that his (Shih-Huang Ti's) life lasted only three years after the promulgation of his edict. He died B.C. 209; and the reign of his second son, who succeeded him, lasted only another three years. Then the reign of the founder of the Han

dynasty dates from B.C. 201:—eleven years were all which intervened between the order for the burning of the books and the establishment of that Family which signalized itself by the care which it bestowed for their recovery; and from the issue of the edict against private individuals having copies in their keeping to the express abrogation by the Emperor Hwuy, there were only twenty-two years. We may believe, indeed, that vigorous efforts to carry the edict into effect would not be continued longer than the life of its author —that is, not for more than about three years. The calamity inflicted on the ancient Books of China by the House of Ts'in could not have approached to anything like a complete destruction of them.

The inquiry pursued in the above paragraphs conducts us to the conclusion that the materials from which the Classics, as they have come down to us, were compiled and edited in the two centuries preceding our Christian era, were genuine remains, going back to a still more remote period. The injury which they sustained from the dynasty of Ts'in was, I believe, the same in character as that to which they were exposed during all the time of the "warring states". It may have been more intense in degree, but the constant warfare which prevailed for some centuries among the different states which composed the empire was eminently unfavorable to the cultivation of literature. Mencius tells us how the princes had made way with many of the records of antiquity, from which their own usurpations and innovations might have been condemned. Still the times were not unfruitful, either in scholars or statesmen, to whom the ways and monuments of antiquity were dear, and the space from the rise of the Ts'in dynasty to Confucius was not very great. It only amounted to two hundred and fifty-eight years. Between these two periods Mencius stands as a connecting link. Born probably in the year B.C. 371, he reached, by the intervention of Kung Heih, back to the sage himself, and as his death happened B.C. 288 we are brought down to within nearly half a century of the Ts'in dynasty. From all these considerations, we may proceed with confidence to consider each separate Work, believing that we have in these Classics and Books what the great sage of China and his disciples found, or gave to their countrymen more than two thousand years ago.

From the time of Confucius himself the work of transmission and commentary has been continuous. Regarding this Legge says:

> The above important document is sufficient to show how the emperors of the Han dynasty, as soon as they had made good their possession of the empire, turned their attention to recover the ancient literature of the nation, the Classical Books engaging their first care, and how earnestly and effectively the scholars of the time responded to the wishes of their rulers. In addition . . . I may relate that the ordinance of the Ts'in dynasty against possessing the Classical Books was repealed by the second sovereign of the Han, the emperor Heaou Hwuy, in the fourth year of his reign, B.C. 190, and that a large portion of the *Shoo-King* was recovered in the time of the third emperor, B.C. 178-156, while in the year B.C. 135, a special Board was constituted, consisting of *literati* who were put in charge of the five *King*.
>
> The collection reported on by Lew Hin suffered damage in the troubles which began

A.D. 8, and continued to the rise of the second or eastern Han dynasty in the year 25. The founder of it (A.D. 25-57) zealously promoted the undertaking of his predecessors, and additional repositories were required for the books which were collected. His successors, the emperors, Heaou-ming (58-75), Heaou-chang (75-88) and Heaou-hwo (89-105), took a part themselves in the studies and discussions of the literary tribunal, and the emperor Heaou-ling, between the years 172-178 had the text of the five *King*, as it had been fixed, cut in slabs of stone, in characters of three different forms.

Since the Han, the successive dynasties have considered the literary monuments of the country to be an object of their especial care. Many of them have issued editions of the Classics, embodying the commentaries of preceding generations. No dynasty has distinguished itself more in this line than the present Manchow possessors of the Empire. In fine, the evidence is complete that the Classical Books have come down from at least a century before our Christian era, substantially the same as we have them at present.

While the persecution of the First Emperor fell short of its complete accomplishment, it unquestionably had an effect upon Confucian scholarship. The books may have escaped destruction, they may have been studied and commented, but great original production lagged. Suzuki says:

> The effects of such radical measures were just what the Emperor desired. He suppressed all independence of thought and reduced the spirit of the nation to a comatose condition, which lasted for a millennium. During these times, China produced not a single original thinker. The cyclone was so destructive, leaving desolation in its wake, that people did not venture to build any new structure of thought; but were constantly endeavoring to recover what they had lost. They made a diligent research among the literary remains. Whatever discoveries they made were carefully studied, and commentaries were written by various hands. Those which could not be found, though their traditional existence was known, were even manufactured, and boldly appeared with the

old labels on them. So, this period proved a fruitful season for literary forgery.

While there was much of dry and unprofitable commentary, discussion, hair-splitting, there was scarcely a scholar of outstanding ability and constructive power until the Sung school of philosophers of which Chucius (Chu Hsi) was the great name. Here again we are fortunate in having a recent and scholarly study of the man and his work. In 1923, J. Percy Bruce, an English scholar, published *Chu Hsi and His Masters* and, in 1922, a translation of Chu Hsi's *Philosophy of Human Nature*. To these two volumes, and to Père Wieger we look for our material.

It is always well to have the historic background. Of the conditions prevailing at the time of the Sung School, Bruce says:

> It is an interesting fact that the periods in which the Chinese Empire has been politically weakest have produced her greatest thinkers and writers. Confucius and Mencius each appeared in an age when the Empire was broken into petty states in perpetual

feuds with each other, while the Imperial power was little more than a nominal suzerainty; and throughout the whole period of the Sungs, when the Empire was engaged in the fierce struggle with the Chins, making it in a political sense the most humiliating in her history, there was witnessed a literary revival not unworthy to be compared with the Elizabethan period of English literature. It affected every branch of scholarship. Historians like Ssu-ma Kuang, poets like Su Tung Po, and philosophers too numerous to be specified, all shared in the great movement.

It was not until the eleventh century A.D., in the dark and turbulent days of the Sung dynasty, that, within orthodoxy itself, the mine of Chinese metaphysical thought yielded its richest harvest. Then, in the literary renaissance of Chinese history, a galaxy of thinkers arose, forming what is known as the Sung School of Confucianism, whose writings crystallized the thoughts of ages into a system which has dominated the Chinese mind ever since, coloring the mental outlook of the most ignorant peasant not less really than that of the most erudite scholar.

The work was not that of *one* man. The little group responsible for it is known as "the Five Philosophers".

Their names in the order of appearance were *Chou Tun I*, the two brothers *Chêng Hao* and *Ch'eng I*, their uncle *Chang Tsai*, and *Chu Hsi*. Chou Tun I, the founder of the school, was born in the early part of the eleventh century A.D. 1017, rather more than a hundred years before Chu Hsi (1130), while the whole period from the birth of Chou Tun I to the death of Chu Hsi in A.D. 1200, extended through nearly two centuries.

There was, however, a sixth, Shao Yung, who, born six years before Chou Tun I, may be regarded as the forerunner of them all.

What they did was to give Confucianism a new form, profoundly affected by Taoism on the one hand and Buddhism on the other. Père Wieger calls it *Neo-Confuciisme philosophique*—philosophical new-Confucianism. It was *new* Confucianism surely; and in the hands of the Five Philosophers it became philosophy to a degree unthought of in the early days. Bruce says:

> . . . they owed much—perhaps more than they themselves realized—to both Buddhism and Taoism. Not only were the theories of the orthodox philosophers modified in no small degree by the arguments of their opponents, but some of their conceptions are directly traceable to such sources; and famous representatives of the school—notably Chu Hsi himself—at one time or another were devotees of one or both of the above named religions. While, therefore, the springs of the Sung Philosophy are to be found in the classics the stream was fed by affluents of widely different origin.

We must say a few words concerning each of the five—nay, the six—before we attempt to get an idea of their teaching.

Chou Tun I (=Mao Shun=L'un Hsi)* lived from A.D. 1017 to 1073. His father died early and the boy was left without parental guidance.

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*"*Names.* The Chinese custom is to have more than one name in addition to the surname. The first is the *ming,* which may be called the clan or birth name. It is given by the elder of the clan and can never be changed. The second name, the Tzŭ, translated by Giles as 'style' is a complimentary name by which its owner is addressed by his intimate friends. A third name is the *Hao,* which in the case of a philosopher may be regarded as a 'literary name'."

(*Bruce,* p. 18)

He early showed promise. As a man he was actuated by high ideals, possessed of wide learning, strong and resolute in action, kindhearted and generous to those in need. In office he was skilful in affairs, precise in his habits, showing in his judicial decisions a happy combination of severity and leniency. His most famous literary work was a diagram of the Supreme Ultimate with explanation.

The Chêng brothers are universally mentioned with respect. Sons of an able father, they were placed while still mere boys, fourteen and thirteen years old, under the tuition of Chou Tun I "who early imbued them with deep reverence for the sages, especially for Confucius and Yen Tzu". The older, Ch'êng Hao (=Po Ch'un=Ming Tao), was born in 1032 and died 1085 A.D. He was interested especially in public education. "Every village was provided with its school, in which none but efficient teachers were employed, while he himself spent much time in personally visiting these schools, conversing with the managers and examining the scholars." For ten years he studied Buddhism and Taoism but returned to the Classics and urged their study on the young. Made Censor, he earnestly urged governmental reforms upon the emperor. The younger brother, Ch'êng I (=Chêng Shu=I chuan), 1033 to 1107 A.D., is better known in literature than Ch'êng Hao. He took his doctor's degree when twenty-four years old, in the same year with his brother. When only eighteen years of age, he memorialized the throne for reforms. "He elected to live in comparative retirement in order that he might devote himself to study and literary labors." The writings of the two brothers were largely letters and essays. "The greatness of their influence is evidenced by the extensive quotation from their writings by later philosophers and the numerous discussions to which they gave rise. Perhaps their most conspicuous contribution was the doctrine of the Physical Nature, by which they clarified Mencius' doctrine of the goodness of the Nature, and laid to rest the long controversy which began with the discussion between Mencius and Kaotzŭ."

Chang Tsai (=Tsŭ Hou=Hêng Chü) was the uncle of the Ch'êng brothers, being twelve years the senior of the elder. He was born A.D. 1020 and died 1076. He had, himself, been a teacher, lecturing upon the *Yi King*. When he found how thoroughly his nephews had studied, he abandoned teaching, joined their classes and advised his disciples to do the same. He had been somewhat under Buddhist and Taoist influences but gave up their speculations. He wrote works of considerable value.

The Ch'êng brothers and Chang Tsai were contemporaries of the remarkable Wang An Shih, a radical thinker who for a time had complete ascendancy at court. "Finding himself thus securely entrenched in power, he proceeded to carry into effect the theories, social and political, which he had long held. New laws, effecting reforms startling and revolutionary in their nature, were promulgated with bewildering rapidity, of which the most important were the nationalization of commerce, industry and agriculture, a system of conscription, and a radical change in the monetary system. The object of these measures was the equalization of wealth and the uplifting of the poor, who were not only relieved of all taxation, but were also generously assisted by state loans."

His meteoric career was of brief duration, but more than once he was able to block the efforts of our philosophers to produce governmental reforms. It was largely due to his influence that they were not able to accomplish much in politics.

Shao Yung (=Yao Fu=K'ang Chieh), though not one of the five, was, as already stated, in a sense the forerunner of the Sung School. "From early years his cherished ambition was to attain to such excellence as was reached by the sages; in pursuance of which he lived a Spartan life and devoted himself to his studies with untiring zeal.—'He neither lit a fire in winter, nor used a fan in summer, he neither stretched himself on a mat, nor reclined his head on a pillow.' " Born in 1011, he died in 1077 and at his end could say:

In peace was I born,
In peace I now die.
You ask me my age?
I am three score and seven.
If I look up to Heaven
Or out towards the world;
Of intentional wrong
I am conscious of none.

He was, like the others, especially interested in the *Yi King*, or Book of Changes. He wrote on cosmological diagrams and the study of phenomena. Of his influence, Bruce says: "We shall find later that in Chu Hsi's time this question (of *Tao* as finding its expression in man's nature) became the very pivot of controversy, and that Chu Hsi in his urgent answers to Taoism owed more perhaps to Shao Tzŭ than to any other of his teachers."

And thus at last we reach Chu Hsi, or Chucius. He was born in 1130 A.D. His father was a magistrate of ability, who carried on his son's education, until the boy was fourteen years of age. At his death, he entrusted the boy to friends who arranged for his further education. He was doctor at nineteen and magistrate at twenty-two. He was several times in official positions, but was as often retired, when he engaged in literary labors. He was a prodigious worker and his literary output was enormous.

> Voluminous as were the Philosopher's writings they were by no means superficial; all were stamped by his keen incisive intellect, and any one, at least of his greater works,

would have been sufficient to establish his reputation as a great thinker. The supremacy of his intellect was acknowledged by his contemporaries as well as by posterity. His disciples were too numerous to mention even by name. Wherever he went, in office or in retirement, he established a school, with the result that at the time of his death his followers were to be numbered by thousands and were found in all parts of the Empire.—It is not the number of his disciples, however, which it is here desired to emphasize, but rather the fact that the most celebrated litterateurs of his time acknowledged him as Master.

Present day Confucianism—that is, the system of ethical and metaphysical conceptions current in China for the last seven hundred years—is rather Chu Hsi's philosophy than that of Confucius.

It must be pointed out, however, that, while each of the great philosophers whose names are closely associated with the school made his own special contribution to its stream of thought, it is as that stream passed through the channel created by the last of the famous

Five—Chu Hsi himself—that it assumed its final trend.

In this school the *Canon of Changes* assumes a particular importance. Much of the specific teaching to which we shall call attention goes back to it. A commentator of almost five hundred years later, Wang Pu-ch'ing says:

> Shao Yung tried to explain the *Canon of Changes* by numbers, and Ch'êng I by the eternal fitness of things; but Chu Hsi alone was able to pierce through the meaning and appropriate the thought of the prophets who composed it.

At the end of his sketch of Chu Hsi's life, Bruce says:

> Such was Chu Hsi. Not unworthily he has been held in honor by the nation as second only to the sages. For seven centuries his mind has dominated the intellect of China. Once and again his supremacy has been disputed, notably by Wang Yang Ming of the fifteenth century, who bids fair to be the most popular philosopher with the young China of today. But with these exceptions Chu Hsi and his philosophy have held their own, and

> however much he may be displaced by others in the present age, his teaching must still form the background of any true perspective of Chinese thought.

It is well, however, to hear differing judgments regarding any man. Bruce is swept away by finding in Chusius something at least of lofty thought to which he can give approval. We are prepared to discount Père Wieger's characterization of Chusius, but it deserves consideration.

He says:

> Chucius began in the rôle of a tiresome sermonizer, which he continued to play till his death; always without *flair* and tact, *prolix* and *nil*. His first memorial lost him the insignificant appointment, which he had somehow secured. . . . Despised during his life like Confucius, Chucius like him was admired after death. In 1227, a decadent emperor falsely declared officially that he was the very flower of Confucianism, and required examination in his writings for appointment of officials. Sustained by influences of which I shall speak further on, this doctrine remained in possession under the fol-

lowing dynasties, and poisoned China until 1905. It is even not certain that its deleterious rôle will not continue.

The teachings of Chucius are too voluminous and involved to be presented in any detail. We can touch upon but a few topics and make but few quotations in illustration. As a commentator of the Classics he emphasizes the principle of consistency. "He refused to interpret words in a given passage in one sense and the same words occurring elsewhere in another sense." As for his philosophy, we would like to quote Père Wieger's summary. Biased he may be, and hostile, but he has gone through the material and indicates the salient points. It is too long, however, for actual quotation and we will only reduce it to a tabular skeleton:

No God, Sovereign, Judge, or Providence.
The Universe and all its content are
composed of *li,* (*norme*) } co-eternal,
ki, (*matière*) } distinct, inseparable.
li impels evolution in *ki*
alternately *yin*
yang
norme one, infinite, eternal, immutable,
changeless, homogeneous, essential,

blind, fatal, unconscious, unintelligent.
endless alteration
heaven, earth, all beings are one with me.

Bruce translates only the treatise upon Human Nature. The philosophy developed in it is devoloped, of course, as fundamental to ethical teaching. Bruce finds heights of thought in it that have escaped most students. Père Wieger's summary would not suit him. It is true that he does not find a definite personal God, but he claims to find an Ultimate Cause, which is not only moral, but beneficent. A few quotations hardly give a fair idea of his statement but they are all for which we have space:

> There is only one nature in the universe; the nature of man is the nature of heaven and earth; he possesses it in common with birds and beasts. In fact, the unity of the Nature is a doctrine which constitutes the very warp and woof of Chu Hsi's philosophy and that of his school. For them man and the universe are one.

Chucius stamps Hsüncius as a heretic, heterodox; it is from this point of view that he does so. Dubs says:

> Chu Hsi, who made his interpretation the orthodox one, used the word "nature" (which Mencius and Hsüntze referred to human nature) with a different connotation; it is now referred to the Nature of the Universe and became a cosmological concept; and in Universe there is only one nature. Under these circumstances, the statement that "the nature is evil" meant to Chu Hsi that "Nature is evil" or "the Universe is evil", and naturally he rejected that statement as erroneous. In addition, the term which Hsüntze used for "artificial training" came to be taken as equivalent of another similar word meaning "evil" and so Hsüntze's statement that "The nature of man is evil; his goodness is acquired training" came to mean "Nature (which is also man's nature) is evil; its (apparent) goodness is evil;" and so the condemnation of Hsüntze was a natural result.

It must be understood that the following passages are Bruce's conclusions from a study of

Chucius. They are not the actual translation of the Chinese author's words.

The word *Law*, therefore, as the equivalent of *Li* must be understood in a wide sense. In the individual, it is the rule of existence for that individual, and it is from this aspect of it that it derives its name. But it is more. It is a principle, living and active, which directs and controls the development of the being in which it is inherent. It is a principle which pervades the universe; with infinite variety of function, it is, nevertheless, one. It is an ethical principle; the essence of its life is ethical. And, finally, it is Divine. All-pervading, and imminent in every individual thing that exists! it is the *All* in *All*.

So, then, we have two elements in the universe, mutually dependent and inseparable. This would seem to be sufficient to justify the term Dualism. Other important considerations, however, must be taken into account. In the first place, the Dualism, even if we call it Dualism, must be sharply differentiated from certain dualistic theories of the West. For example, in the Sung School there is nothing antagonistic in the component elements. On the contrary, they are independent and complementary to each other. Law pervades matter as its directing principle, and matter furnishes law with its means of manifestation. It is true that in the dualism of matter we have the two opposites of the *Yin* and the *Yang*, or the active and passive modes, translated by some as light and darkness. But even these opposites are complementary and not antagonistic; the two Modes follow each other in harmonious succession, and the governing factor in their alternation is goodness. While the two are co-existent, *li* is the root or source; so that the priority is because the source of *ch'i* is in *li*. In short, what the Chinese philosopher teaches is an eternal generation of Matter by Law, and, in that sense, Law is ultimate.

To sum up, *li* and *ch'i* are co-existent and inseparable, but *ch'i* is subordinate to *li*, as the source or root from which it is derived. Here, then, we have an answer to the question with which we began. Chu Hsi asserts the essential subordination of Matter to Law as its ultimate source. Chinese Dualism resolves itself into Monism.

The great merit of the Sung School is that the *Moral* is recognized as fundamental. It teaches that the material universe which we see around us has an ethical basis which consists of these same ethical principles which we find embedded in our own hearts. Here, doubtless, lies the secret of its permanence. In the form which it received from Chu Hsi, it has remained substantially the same through the seven centuries which have elapsed since his day, pure and lofty in its ethics, a conservative force in the nation, the very salt, indeed, which has preserved it from decay.

The meaning of all this would appear to be: The phenomena of the Universe are traced back to their beginning in the Primordial Ether, and infinite mass of world stuff, if we may so term it, described by some writers as chaos. From this primordial ether by its self-revolution are produced the two modes of matter, energy and inertia, which by their varying combinations produce the Five Agents, from which again all things in the universe are evolved. But inherent in this Ether is the immaterial principle *Law,* which is really the Supreme Ultimate properly so termed.

The famous diagram of the Supreme Ultimate, of Chou Tun I, is an attempt to represent this theory in graphic form. Of the explanation accompanying it our author says it is "one of the most terse and pregnant writings ever penned."

Let the reader now recall the argument of the last section. We found that the Mind of the Universe is the Mind of Heaven, that the four virtues of which Love is the source and sum, are the attributes of this Mind of Heaven, and that while rejecting all anthropomorphic conceptions of a crude materialistic nature, Chu Hsi recognizes this Mind of Heaven as the Personal Ruler and Governor of the universe, the One Source to whose conscious agency the physical and moral order of the Universe are due. We now find that the essential and all-inclusive attribute of this Mind of Heaven, the One Source of the physical and moral order, is Love as the vital impulse putting forth its Divine energy in all phases of creative evolution.

Probably Père Wieger will hardly follow Bruce in these conclusions. Curious, is it not, how differently the same readings may be explained? But at all events, with Chucius we reach a new Confucianism, which is distinctly philosophical —as Wieger names it, *Neo-Confuciisme philosophique.*

In devoting so much attention to Bruce's translation of Chu Hsi's treatise upon Human Nature and in our desire to illustrate the philosophical side of his teachings, we are in danger of underestimating the other features of his work. The *Human Nature* is but a small part. Aston says: "Professedly an exposition of the doctrine of the ancient Chinese sages, the Sung philosophy is in reality an essentially modern system of ontology, ethics, natural philosophy, and principles of government, subjects which to the Chinese mind are inseparable." The same writer gives a brief statement of Chu Hsi's philosophy. It brings the theory of human nature into relation with the rest of his teaching:

> —the origin and cause of all things is *Taikhi* or the Great Absolute. The energy evolved by

its movement produced the *Yang*, and when it came to rest, the *Yin* was the result. The *Yang* is the active, positive, productive, male principle of nature, while the *Yin* is regarded as passive or receptive, negative and female. By the mutual action of these two principles the Kosmos was formed out of chaos,—the *Yin* and the *Yang* are the source of the five elements, water, fire, earth, metal and wood. Each of these has its proper function, on the right discharge of which depend the regular sequence of the four seasons and phenomena generally. These processes go on eternally. —The energy which produces all these results is called in Chinese K'e—It follows fixed laws called *Li*—says little of *Ten* (Heaven);—its place is taken by the more impersonal *Taikhi*.—Ethics are a branch of natural philosophy. Corresponding to the regular changes of the seasons in nature is right action in man (who is the crown of nature) in the relations of sovereign and subject, parent and child, elder brother and younger brother, husband and wife, and friend and friend. To his sovereign or lord he is bound to be faithful, to his parents dutiful and to his elder brother respectful. Affection should characterise the relation of husband and wife, and trust that of friend with friend. A man should also display in his conduct the five virtues of Goodness, Righteousness, Propriety, Enlightenment, and Good Faith. —Principles of government are also found a place in this philosophy. If the sovereign practices the virtues above described in his own person, the people will naturally imitate his example and good government will be the result. But the necessity of dealing out justly rewards and punishments, of encouraging sages to lead the people in the right way, and of purity in making appointments is not lost sight of.

VI

WANG YANG-MING:

INTUITIONIST

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INTUITIONIST

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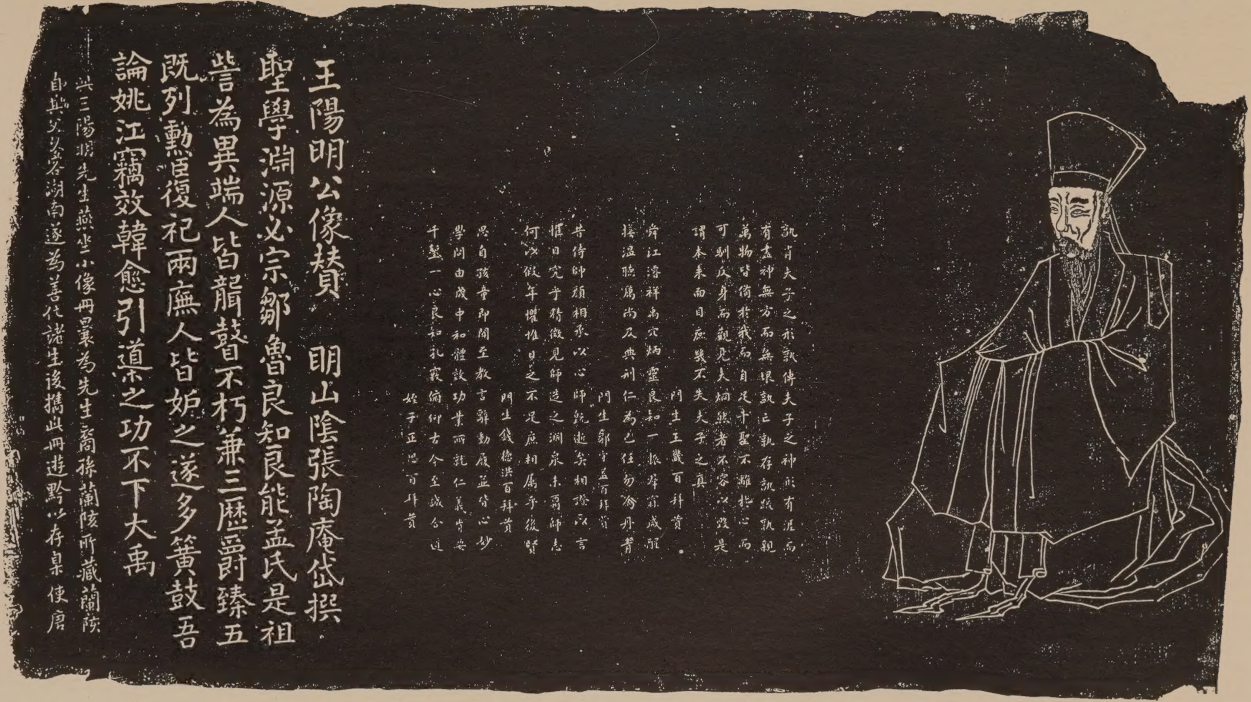
We now come to the last of the great Chinese thinkers who have given form to Confucianism. We have traced the system from its founder, through the developer, the moulder and the dominator, to its present accepted formulation. We must still consider a great scholar, whose viewpoint is quite different from that of the men whom we have studied. Important in the past, his influence is great today, and is likely to be even greater in the future. Wang Yang-ming is the great name in the subjectivist or intuitionist school of Confucianism. How far he varies from orthodoxy is evident from the regard and respect with which Père Wieger speaks of him:

> The most celebrated name of this subjectivist school was Wang Shou-jen, whose literary name was Wang Yang-ming, who lived from A. D. 1472 to 1528. Celebrated scholar, noble character, capable and devoted functionary, orthodox Confucianist, he was at one

time forced to flee before an invasion of rebels and found himself long deprived of books. Then, says his biography, he had something like a revelation. He understood that, the study of the masters once ended, man ought no longer to seek the solution of his doubts in books; he ought to draw it from his own heart. That it was necessary, at every doubt, to seek not an old text kept in his memory, but a living word in his heart. This word is pronounced by the *inner knowledge*, which he defines as "that which one knows without ever having learned, without ever having thought." Only the verdict of this innate knowledge, understood and followed by man, can give him the supreme goods of *truth* and *peace*. This inner word, once understood in the heart, it is necessary to accept and hold firmly, without flinching. For it is infallible, considering that it is spoken by the heart, which *is* the celestial norm. Chu Hsi, he said, had glimpsed the truth, but had stopped half-way; if he had carried his deductions to their end, he would have reached the same conclusion as he, Wang Yang-ming.



王陽明公像賛　明山陰張陶庵岱撰

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門生錢德洪百拜贊

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姪子正思百拜贊

STONE INSCRIPTION AND PORTRAIT OF WANG YANG-MING, AT KWEI YANG

We have a sympathetic study of the Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming by Frederick Goodrich Henke. His work is our chief source of information, pieced out from Père Wieger and Robert Cornell Armstrong.

As the difference between Wang Yang-ming and the other Confucian scholars is so great, we quote other judgments of him before presenting specific extracts from his writings. Armstrong says:

> He thought that heaven, the way, reason and the heart are all one. If man would know the way, he must purify his own heart. Thus he thought that all men are by nature good, and by purifying the heart would enter the way. Between heaven and earth all things are different forms of one nature, which in the sun, moon and stars is called heaven. When unseen it governs all things, we call it heavenly ruler; when it is the energy which causes all things, it is called providence; when it is lodged in man, it is called nature; when it becomes the master of our bodies, it is called heart. When all of these are summed up and given a general name it is called nature.

Human duty is the virtue which lies in nature, and which is called intuitive wisdom. It is man's duty to reveal it and to put it into practice in the real world. Yomei (Wang Yang-ming) emphasized intuition to such an extent that he ridiculed the Shushi (Chi Hsi) teaching about investigating the ancient classics.

Henke, in contrasting Wang and Chu, says:

In Chu's time, Confucianism had gained decided ascendancy over its competitors, Taoism and Buddhism. Chu was a realist, believing that things exist in their own right apart from the mind; not, however, in such a way as to make knowledge of them impossible. He held that external things partake of the principles of the mind, and that for this reason knowledge may be perfected by investigating the principles of all things with which we come into contact. Wang Yang-ming, who lived three and one half centuries after Chu, was an idealist of the monistic type. For him mind covered the entire gamut of existence; he thought that nothing exists independent of and apart from mind. His point of view was consequently

> at variance with Chu's. He had considerable difficulty in defending his break with the traditional interpretation of the classics, but he succeeded remarkably well.
>
> 1. Every individual may understand the fundamental principles of life and of things, including moral laws, by learning to understand his own mind and by developing his own nature. This means that it is not necessary to use the criteria of the past as present-day standards. Each individual has the solution of the problem of the universe within himself. "Man is the measure of all things."
>
> 2. On the practical side, every one is under obligation to keep knowledge and action, theory and practice together, for the former is so intimately related to the latter that its very existence is involved. There can be no real knowledge without action. The individual has within himself the spring of knowledge and should constantly carry into practice the things that his intuitive knowledge of good gives him opportunity to do.

And Wieger in speaking of the break between the two views says:

> They (the intuitionists) were nevertheless

never formally excommunicated for two reasons:
1. because they always protested that Confucius was the sage *par excellence*; 2. because they took refuge behind Mencius, who also spoke of natural knowledge.—The Chuists felt indeed that Wang Yang-ming had modified the idea of Mencius, but they could never clearly explain in what respect. Mencius believed that, continuously followed, the *norme* little by little disciplined the heart of flesh, until finally it acquired the habit of order, the instinct of fitness (natural knowledge). Wang Yang-ming believed that the heart, itself the *norme*, naturally possessed the infallible intuition of moral goodness (innate wisdom) and tended to it spontaneously unless it was interfered with; something as the needle feels the north and turns towards it.

Such a complete development of thought could hardly have originated suddenly. There must have been an intellectual movement lying back of it. Wang Yang-ming must have had predecessors. While his is the name most emphatically associated with the subjectivist school, he was in no sense its actual originator. Armstrong goes so far as to say: "He owes nearly everything in his system to Riku Shozan, whose views he set forth very clearly." Riku Shozan is the Japanese pronunciation of the name of Lu Chiu-yuän. He was a contemporary of Chu Hsi. Giles tells us that he was born at Chin-ch'i, Fuhkien, in 1140 A.D. He took his higher degree and began his official career at the age of thirty-three years. He held several appointments, with periods of enforced retirement between them. Crowds went to him for instruction. In 1190 he was appointed governor of an unimportant district. He died in 1192 A.D. "Certain heterodox views ranged the great Chu Hsi among his opponents; especially his contention that personal, subjective education, coupled with reflection, was the foundation of all mental progress, and that education from without could be dispensed with. The result was a long controversy and a famous letter addressed to him by Chu Hsi. Neither, however, was converted to the views of the other, nor was anything in the form of a compromise effected." Of him, Armstrong says: Shushi (Chucius) respected him highly. He said he was a man with a very good heart, who daily followed his duty and urged scholars to become one with "Heavenly *ri*", (*li*), avoiding even the appearance of lust.—For Riku Shozan the small world is the great world.

> Self is everything; the heart constitutes the six classics. Believe in this heart; move as your heart moves; act as it acts. This is the entrance to the great way. Apart from this there is no way. The ancients knew this way and did not divide it into respect and investigation.

However, it is possible to go still further back. Père Wieger finds the actual source of the intuitionist school in the Ch'êng brothers. The same teachers to whom Chu Hsi looked for inspiration were those who influenced a group of thinkers that lies back of Lu Chu-yuän and runs on to Wang Yang-ming. Wieger says: "Not all among the disciples of the Ch'êng brothers followed the line that led to the materialistic formulas of Chu Hsi." He believes that this group was affected by Zen Buddhism and that its members retired from the world and gave themselves up to meditation and the development of their inner natures.

Wang Shou-jen, commonly called Wang Yang-ming, was born A.D. 1472. He was twenty-eight years old when he took his third degree and entered public service. Incurring the hostility of Liu Chin, who was powerful at court, he was given a petty appointment at Kueichow, where he attempted the civilization of savages. For a time he was devoted to a study of Taoism, but abandoned it and took up Confucianism. He soon had many disciples. At the death of Liu Chin in 1510 he was recalled. He held several important positions. In 1519 he subdued an insurrection in Kiangsi and in 1527 conducted a successful campaign against the wild tribes of Kuangsi, for which he was made president of the Board of War and given the title of Earl. Envy and malice of rivals and ill health led him to resign. He died on his way home, in 1528.

While he was in his remote place of labor he had what Père Wieger, as above stated, considers as something like a revelation. The incident is mentioned in his biography:

> The great object of his meditations at this time was: What additional method would a sage adopt who lived under these circumstances? One night it suddenly dawned upon him in the midnight watches what the sage meant by "investigating things for the purpose of extending knowledge to the utmost." Unconsciously he called out, got up and danced about the room. All his followers were alarmed; but the teacher, now for the first time understanding the doctrine of the sage, said, "My nature is, of course, sufficient. I was wrong in looking for principles in things and affairs." He meditated upon the words of the Five Classics and found them entirely in harmony with this. Subsequently he wrote a commentary on the Five Classics, with the title *Thoughts on the Five Classics.*

His writings were extensive but were not in the nature of systematic treatises. He left a number of poems and many letters, which were written to disciples in response to inquiries. His style is clear and direct and his meaning is usually evident. We give first a poem taken from Père Wieger's translation.

The *innate knowledge* is that which one has
alone and of himself
There is no true science outside of that—
And this true science, every man possesses it
naturally—
But how little they realize it.

How little they come to judging for themselves—
how much they always demand from others,
the explanation of what takes place in
themselves—
with no more result moreover,
than if they demanded of another the interpretation of an itching of their skin.

You have the whole of Heaven in your
nature,
to what gain then do you question another?
Trust rather to your own inner sense than to
consultation of old papers.

Although he introduces a new attitude and at times criticizes the orthodox Confucianists, Wang Yang-ming was truly Confucian in his respect for the Classics and his admiration of the sages. He felt too that the good old days were the best days, because people were more natural and simple, more subjectivist and intuitional, more actually working out the real nature of man. Our selections in illustration of his ideas are taken from Henke.

> I (pupil) replied: "In filial obedience in serving one's parents, or faithfulness in serving one's prince, or sincerity in intercourse with friends, or benevolence in governing the people, there are many principles which I fear must be examined."
> The Teacher, sighing, said: "This is an old evasion. Can it be fully explained in one word? Following your order of questions I will make reply. For instance, in the matter of serving one's father, one cannot seek for the principle of filial obedience in one's parents, or in serving one's prince one cannot seek for the principle of faithfulness in the prince, or in making friends or governing the people one cannot seek for the principle of sincerity and benevolence in the friends or the people. They are all in the mind, for the mind is itself the embodiment of principles. When the mind is free from the obscuration of selfish aims, it is the embodiment of the principles of Heaven. It is not necessary to

add one whit from without. When service of parents emerges from the mind characterized by pure heaven-given principles, we have filial obedience; when service of prince emerges, faithfulness; when the making of friends or the governing of the people emerge, sincerity and benevolence. It is only necessary to expel human passions and devote one's energies to the eternal principles."

Again he said: "Knowledge is native to the mind; the mind is naturally able to know. When it perceives the parents it naturally knows what filial piety is; when it perceives the elder brother it naturally knows what respectfulness is; when it sees a child fall into a well it naturally knows what commiseration is. This is intuitive knowledge of good, and is not attained through external investigation. If the thing manifested emanates from the intuitive faculty, it is the more free from the obscuration of selfish purpose. This is what is meant by saying that the mind is filled with commiseration, and that love cannot be exhausted. However, the ordinary man is subject to the obscuration of private aims, so that it is necessary to develop the intuitive faculty to the utmost through the investigation of things in order to overcome selfishness and reinstate the rule of natural law. Then the intuitive faculty of the mind will not be subject to obscuration, but having been satisfied, will function normally. Thus we have a condition in which there is an extension of knowledge. Knowledge having been extended to the utmost, the purpose is sincere."

The Teacher spoke again, saying: "The Five Classics also are merely history—history for the purpose of explaining good and evil, and for the sake of instruction and warning. The good may well be used for such instruction. Time has left its footprint in order to exhibit precepts. The evil may well serve as a warning. If one heeds the warning and corrects in himself the corresponding evils, it may serve as a preventative of wickedness."

He said: "That would imply that you lack a will which is in full earnest. When the will is wholly sincere, the eyes will see it and the ears will attend to it. How can there be the possibility of not understanding? The ability to distinguish between right and wrong is common to all men, so that it avails nothing to seek them in external things. Investigation implies appreciation of that which one's own mind experiences. It will not do to go outside of the mind for this, as though there were additional possibility of understanding."

Hsiao Hui made inquiry regarding life and death.

The Teacher said: "If you understand day and night you know death and life."

He then made inquiry regarding day and night.

The Teacher said: "If you understand the day, you also know the night."

Hsiao Hui said: "Perhaps I do not fully understand the day".

The Teacher said: "You are able to understand the day. Stupid yet arising, foolish yet eating, acting yet not manifesting natural law, practising yet not investigating principles, fuddled all day long, this is dreaming during the day. When one cultivates natural law at every breath, and harbors it at every glance of the eye; when the mind is intelligent and clear, and natural law is not interrupted for a moment, then one is able to understand the day. This is the virtue of Heaven. This implies that one perceives and understands the path of duty by day and by night. How can there, then, be death and life any more?"

One of the disciples said: "Shao Tuan-feng argues that a boy under sixteen is unable to investigate things. He should be taught to sprinkle, sweep, answer, and reply."

The Teacher said: "Sprinkling, sweeping, and replying are also things. The intuitive knowledge of the boy reaches only to this point; therefore if he is taught to do these things, this small part of his intuitive knowledge is extended to the utmost. Again, if the boy knows enough to stand in awe of his teachers and elders, this also is making contact with his intuitive knowledge. If while at play he happens to see his teacher or elder, he will bow and be reverent. This shows that he is able to investigate things so as to extend to the utmost his knowledge of reverencing his teachers and elders. The boy naturally has the boy's ability to investigate things in order to extend his knowledge to the utmost."

The Teacher said: "Sirs, you should fix your minds upon definitely becoming sages. Whenever you strike, there should be a mark; and whenever you hit there should be blood on the hand; for not until then will you hear me speak and get virtue out of every sentence. If you spend your days in a vague and dazed fashion, you may be compared to a lifeless piece of flesh, that neither feels pain nor itches, though it is struck. I fear that under such circumstances you will not be of any use. When you return home you will be able to measure up only to the ability of former times. Would not that be unfortunate?"

During a single day the individual experiences the world from the ancients up to the present time. Nevertheless people do not realize this. In the night, when the air is pure and clear, when nothing is seen or heard, and man neither thinks nor works and is indifferent and undisturbed, this is the age of Emperor Hsi. In the morning when the air is transparent, peaceful and inspiring, this is the age of Yao and Shun. Just before the middle of the day, when the vital forces are blended and the various forms are regular and clear, this is the time of the Three Dynasties. After the middle of the day, when the air gradually becomes unclear and moves confusedly, this is the time of the contending states in the feudal times. When the day gradually becomes confused and dark, nature rests, and forms are lonely and solitary; this is the age when man and things are done away with. If the student has had faith in his intuitive knowledge of good he will not be disturbed by the passion nature, and thus will become an individual, as it were, belonging to the period before Emperor Hsi. There is but one intuitive faculty. When reference is made to its wonderful use, it is called energy (spirit); when reference is made to its natural manifestations, it is called temper (feeling); when reference is made to its aggregated fulfilment, it is called essence (germinating principle). How can it be sought for in any form or image? The essence of the true *Yin* is the matrix of the temper of the *Yang*. The temper of the *Yang* is the father of the essence of the true *Yin*. The *Yin* is the cause of the *Yang*, and the *Yang* is the cause of the *Yin*. They are really not two. In case my sayings regarding intuitive knowledge are understood, then such things as these are all explained without speaking about them. If this is not understood, then, as your letter says, though the three organs of sense (eye, ear, voice) return to it seven times and again nine times, there still remain an infinite number of things that can be doubted.

At the times of Yao, Shun and the Three Dynasties, only this was considered instruction by the teachers and by the students. All that time men did not differ in their opinions, nor homes in their practices. He who adjusted himself to this was called a sage; he who was diligent in carrying it out was called virtuous; he who disregarded it was considered degenerate, even though it was the intelligent Tan Chu. The man at the village well or in the rural district, the farmer, the artisan, the merchant, everybody had this learning (of the human relationships) and looked only to the perfecting of character as important. How is this to be accounted for? They were not subject to the confusion inherent in much hearing and seeing, nor to the annoyance of remembering and reciting, nor to the extravagance of speech and composition, nor to the striving and gaining of honor and advantage. The result was that they were filial toward their parents, respectful to their elders, and faithful to their friends. They considered this as reverting to the original nature of the mind. This means that they certainly had these things by nature and did not need to acquire them from without. Thus, who was there who would not do them?—Those who were employed also knew only this one thing, mutually to devote themselves to virtue for the purpose of giving peace to the people of the Empire. If they were able to carry this out in practice, then, though they were continually in the midst of increasing perplexities, they did not consider them laborious, and though they were placed in the midst of trifling, vulgar things, they did not consider them low and ignoble. At that time the people of the Empire, with clear, resplendent virtue, all viewed one another as relatives of one home. Those whose ability was lowly, engaged in agriculture, labor, or commerce. All were diligent in their various occupations for the purpose of nourishing one another. Moreover, they did not strive for exalted position and desire external things.—They had the virtue of perfecting their original nature, and therefore their mental energy and purpose were penetrating and unifying. They did not distinguish between themselves and others, nor between things and themselves. They can be compared with the body of a single person. Eyes, ears, hands and feet all assist in the functions of the body. The eyes are not ashamed because they are not intelligent. If anything of importance occurs to the ears, they certainly attend to it. The feet are not ashamed because they cannot grasp things. If there is anything that the hands feel for, the feet certainly move forward. The original vital fluids pervade, and the blood-vessels branch out and penetrate the entire body. It is self-evident that itches and pains, expiration and inspiration cause excitement and exhilaration, and the spirit responds. The learning of the sages is extremely simple; it is readily understood and easily followed. Their learning was easily acquired and their ability readily gained, because the main divisions of their learning consisted in reverting to the original nature of the mind. They did not discuss understanding and talent.

It is interesting to know the attitude of Wang Yang-ming to other forms of thought. He had himself been more or less affected by both Taoism and Buddhism. He must constantly have found himself faced in hostile fashion by the rigidly orthodox followers of Chucius. He thus warns Hsiao Hui:

> From youth I also was generously inclined toward the two religions. I said to myself, "I have acquired their learning," implying thereby that the doctrines of Confucius are not fully adequate. Later, while I lived in a distant part of the Empire among barbarous tribes for three years, I realized that though the learning of the sage is simple, it is nevertheless profound. Sighing, I then regretted that I had wasted my energy for thirty years. In general, it may be said that the excellences of the learning of the two religions constitute but a small portion of those of the sage. What you have learned up to the present is but an effigy, but you believe in it and have become fond of it. It may be compared to an owl stealing a decayed rat.

He, however, treated Chucius with real respect. He felt that he himself, however, had gone further than the famous commentator. He said:

> If you seek differences (between the philosopher Chu's exposition and mine), you are pursuing the wrong course. My exposition is at times different from what he has said. There are both small and great differences in the place and manner of beginning to study, so that I must of necessity distinguish between them. But, in all, there is no difference between my purpose and that of Hui-an. If the rest of his ideas can be explained with a proper degree of clearness, why should a single character be changed?
>
> Since I congratulate myself that my exposition does not depart from that of the philosopher Chu, and since I rejoice that he attained the same position I hold, I also deplore the fact that the ordinary scholars vainly hold to the expositions he gave in middle life, and do not, in addition, realize the necessity of seeking those later expositions which he made after he had come to a state of realization. Violently discussing and clamoring, they confuse true learning. They do not real-

> ize that they have entered the realm of heterodoxy. I have hastily selected, recorded, and brought this together, that I may privately exhibit it to those who have a common purpose, so that they may perhaps have no doubt with reference to what I say and that the revelation of this learning and culture may be expected.

During his lifetime, throngs of disciples hung upon his teaching and his work has been continuously felt down to the present. But officially, he has ever been held a heretic. Government recognized Chucius as the one great representative of Confucian orthodoxy. In Japan, though Chucius had government backing and support, Wang Yang-ming (there called Yomei) has had enormous influence. It is interesting too, to note that he occupies a high position in the thought of the young Chinese of today. It is not impossible that his influence will increase with time.

VII

JAPANESE CONFUCIANISM

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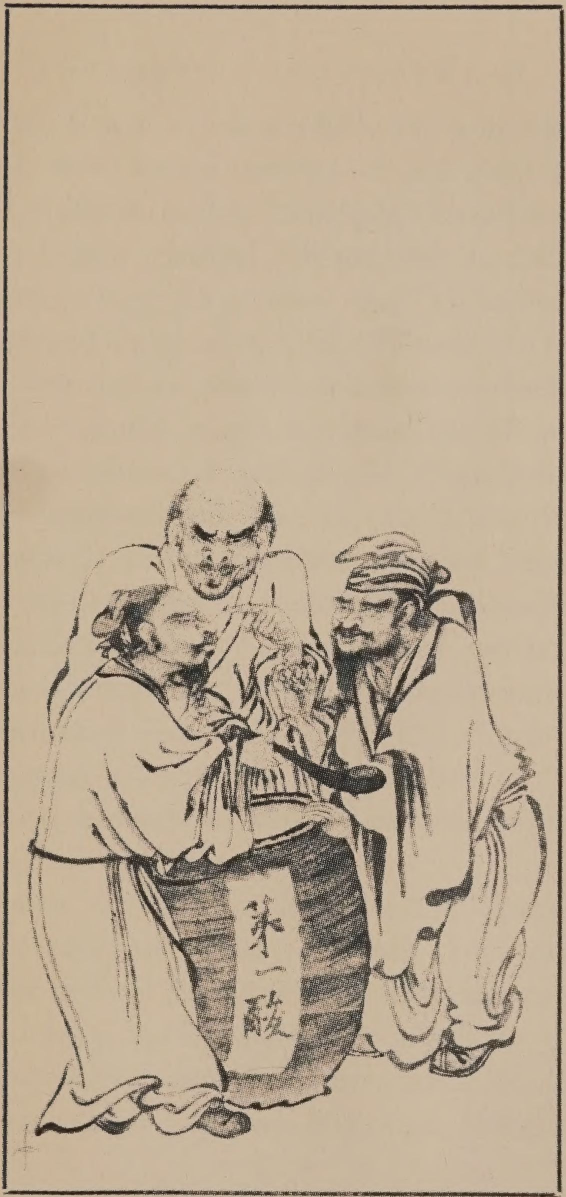
We have followed Confucianism in China from the Founder to its final official form. We have now to consider its interesting development in Japan. The system has spread beyond the land of its origin, first to Korea, where it still maintains a stronghold, and then and thence into the Island Empire. Its history there falls into two periods, an earlier from its introduction up to the time of the Sung philosophers, and a later, from that time to the present.

It is claimed that Confucianism came to Japan A.D. 284-285. In the first of those years a Korean scholar, Achiki, came to the country bringing new ideas and culture elements. Welcomed, he advised the summoning of another Korean, Wani, who came in the following year. Wani was made tutor of the princes, sons of the Emperor Ojin. The younger of these became in time the Emperor Nintoku. These Koreans introduced Chinese writing, Chinese books and Chinese philosophy. *The Thousand Character Classic* and the Confucian *Analects* are said to have been brought in at that time. There is a confusion of dates in the records—the Japanese annals setting the time a full century further back than the Korean. Nor are all critics ready to accept the facts. It is, however, reasonable to assume that Chinese instruction and Confucianism came into Japan somewhere about that time and by way of Korea.

During the Nara period, that great man Shotoku Taishi, prince and regent but never Emperor, "The Constantine of Buddhism", encouraged Chinese influence and Confucian ethics. In A. D. 593 he sent Japanese to China to establish relations and to bring back culture elements. Through his long period of control he continued to be friendly and his famous so-called *Constitution*, the earliest formulation of political principles in Japan, shows the influence of Confucian ethics as carried into governmental affairs.

The first officially recognized school for the teaching of the Confucian Classics was founded under the Emperor Tenchi, whose reign began A.D. 662. The school was raised in rank to an academy under Temmu, and later became a uni-



(*From Suyematsu*)

THE THREE TASTERS (LAOTZE, CONFUCIUS, BUDDHA). THEY DIFFER, BUT AFTER ALL THE DRAUGHT IS THE SAME

versity. It was a pattern which was soon copied until there were a number of provincial and higher schools. In these schools the curriculum included four principal subjects—the Confucian Classics, Biography, Law and Mathematics. Music and Calligraphy, while cultivated and popular, were not included in the formal curriculum, but were taught in special schools. Schools were both governmental and private. Examinations were instituted and were of two kinds: those given at the schools themselves upon the completion of the courses, and leading to academic degrees; and (b) the great examinations, conducted by government and leading to appointment to government office. This notable educational development culminated in the tenth century. Corruption then entered into the examinations and the schools degenerated.

Under the Emperor Koken (A.D. 749-758) every family was required to possess a copy of the Classic of Filial Piety. Confucius was added to the list of deities and worship was given to him.

Outstanding, during this early period of Confucian culmination, was Sugawara Michizane

(A.D. 845-903). He was thoroughly trained in the spirit of Confucianism. A famous calligrapher, a typical Confucian scholar, he is famous as a pattern of loyalty. Faithful minister to the Emperor, he was the object of jealousy and intrigue in the court. His enemies succeeded in misrepresenting him and he was finally exiled to the miserable governorship of Dazaifu, in the southern island of Kyushu, where he soon died of a broken heart. Today he is worshipped throughout Japan as Tenjin, god of learning, and schoolboys still offer samples of their most careful brush-writing at his shrines, some of which are among the finest and noblest in the country. In China, among the five human relations, the greatest stress and emphasis is undoubtedly placed on filial piety. In Japan, this emphasis has been transferred to the relation of sovereign and subject, lord and retainer. Sugawara is among those who have given this special direction to Japanese Confucian thought.

It was during the Kamakura Period (A.D. 1192-1333) that the teachings of Chucius came to Japan. It was a period of military ascendency. In religion, Zen Buddhism was prominent and highly regarded. It was Zen priests who were most taken with the new philosophical Confucianism and it was in their temples that it was protected and propagated. The Confucianism of Japan from this time may be called *Modern Japanese Confucianism*. It presents itself under three quite distinct forms, each of which calls for special consideration. The great work in English in this field is Robert Cornell Armstrong's *Light From the East*: *Studies in Japanese Confucianism*. It was published in 1914 as one of the University of Toronto Studies in Philosophy. A work of scholarship, it is interesting and attractive both in matter and presentation. We depend upon him for guidance.

The three chief schools of Modern Japanese Confucianism are the *Shushi* (Chu Hsi, Chucius), the *Yomei* (Wang Yang-ming) and the *Jinsai* or Classical Schools. The first two were brought from China; the third, while it is paralleled in China, seems to have been independently developed in Japan. These three schools in Japan are represented by a host of interesting and notable scholars. We can only call attention to a few of the great names in each school. The three schools have run side by side and there has been much of rivalry, even hostility, between them.

A. The *Shushi* (Chu Hsi, Chucius) School. The first great name is Fujiwara Seikwa. He was born in 1561. He had been a Buddhist, but abandoned Buddhism for Confucianism. He was notably tolerant. His liberal attitude is shown in the following passage:

> In times past every sage had his own principle by which his disciples might take hold of the truth, which is one and the same. For example, both the older and the younger Tei (Ch'êng) called it modesty; Shu (Chu Hsi) called it reason; Shozan (Lu Chiu Yuan), intuition; and Yomei (Wang Yang-ming) called it conscience. All the teaching of the sages had this one supreme object in view, viz., to state the truth in such a way that any one could understand it and incorporate it into his own life. In regard to terms and methods they are all indifferent. The ultimate object in each case being the same, it is only natural that the bliss of sagehood may be ob-

> tained by beginning either with contemplation, according to Shushi, or with modesty according to Tei, or with reason according to Chinkoho, or with conscience according to Yomei; all of these will ultimately lead us to virtue.

This is really liberal and tolerant, but notice that these are all within the fold of Confucianism. He was less kind in judging outsiders:

> Some of the feudal lords are quite pleased to offer undue homage to Buddhism, and others lose their self-respect under the foul witchcraft of Christianity, yet none are to be found among them who have sense enough to appreciate what Confucius teaches and to follow it earnestly. Who but one deprived of the power of knowing good and evil can pass over this state of affairs and not see the result which is as plain as day?

A single passage may be quoted to show his thought and style:

> Meitoku (shining virtue) may be compared to a spotlessly clear mirror, and the dimming influence of man's passions may be compared to the dust that accumulates on its surface.

> Beware of this dust, for if you do not continually keep your shining virtue (*meitoku*) free from it, the mirror will become dim, and you will certainly fail to fulfill your mission. There must be no compromise between these two; if one fails, the other will conquer.

Slightly later in time, but a co-founder, if we may use the term, with Fujiwara Seikwa, was Hayashi Razan. Sato Issai says that Fujiwara Seikwa introduced Shushi thought in a systematic way to the delight of the people of his time, and Hayashi Razan continued his work collecting all the teachings of Fujiwara. Both, however, showed some eclecticism and were by no means narrow followers of Chucius. Most of their followers and successors were more partisan and bigoted. Nor was Hayashi as kindly in his attitude and characterization as Fujiwara. He definitely counts himself with the followers of Chu Hsi, but still criticizes the Chinese school of his time.

> From the Han dynasty to the T'ang dynasty the teaching of all the schools is derived from former teaching. If we trace them back we find them all based on the six sacred classics.

> We should therefore find the way in them. The Shushi school alone understands their principles, but at present the Shushi school is polluted with false doctrines. We must make the true way of humanity clear.

His narrowness and harshness, as compared with Fujiwara, comes out in:

> In making the sacred teachings known, we have, first of all, Confucius, and then Shushi. Although many ordinary teachers have howled forth criticisms of Shushi, they might as well have remained silent.

Of a curious group of Buddhists, known as Yamabushi or mountain priests, he speaks bitterly. These people today are connected with the Tendai and Shingon sects. They have much secrecy and esoterism in their doctrines. How much Hayashi really knew of those of his time may be a question. Of them he says:

> There is a kind of Buddhist priest, who wears a bonnet, dresses in white, carries a sword, and uses a long stick. These priests are called together by the blowing of a large shell. They are known as mountain priests. If any of

> them break the law and fall into sin, they all assemble to pass judgment. If found guilty, a deep hole is dug, and the culprit is buried alive. Stones are piled on him and trees are planted to mark the spot, so that every one who passes that way knows that a mountain priest has sinned. The government is unable to repress them.

More definitely of the Shushi school, less affected by any other doctrine, was Muro Kyuso (1658-1734). He was a notable writer and was widely read. He "was a pure Shushi scholar. He worshipped Shushi only. He lived when Ito Togai and Ogiu Sorai (of the Classical School) were at the height of their fame. He was like an immovable rock in the waves of their success. His standpoint was clearly set forth in his books." He said:

> In my youth I learned from a common Confucian scholar to recite words and sentences. I spent many years in this way. One day I suddenly perceived my mistake. I had earnestly studied the learning of the ancients, but unfortunately I had no good teacher or friend. I was tempted by the various opinions

> of many scholars and half believed and half doubted Shushi. For many years I had no fixed opinion. But at forty years of age I came to a deep understanding of the learning of Teishi (Ch'êng), and became immovable. Day and night I have read the books of Teishi and for thirty years I have thought deeply and earnestly. In proportion as a man looks upward, he will gradually come to understand Shushi's highest thought. A true sage will without doubt obey the words of Shushi. Therefore the way of heaven and earth is the way of Yao and Shun. It is the way of Confucius, Mencius and Teishi. If we reject any of the great teachers, we cannot reach the way of heaven and earth. I am an old teacher, and people may not fully believe my words, but I speak from experience. If I do not speak from experience, let my body suddenly receive the punishment of heaven and earth.

At times Muro Kyuso comes much nearer the Christian idea of God than is common in Confucianism:

> Most men know that God is honest, but few think of him as wise. There is no one more wise than God. There are things that men

cannot hear; things they cannot see; things even the wisest cannot understand. God does not need ears, eyes or mind. He knows directly. He gets his power only through sincerity. There is in heaven and earth one who has this keen insight and power of hearing. He has become the soul of all creatures and fills heaven and earth. As he has no form or voice, men cannot see nor hear him, but if our hearts are true we can feel the spirit of the universe. If one is not sincere he cannot know God. If one can feel God's presence he can perceive him, otherwise he cannot. This is the divine law of the universe. The man who perceives God may be likened to the reflection of the moon in clear water. The moon and the water mutually intensify each other's light. If such a relationship between God and man continue for some time through sincerity, they blend into one, so that man cannot be distinguished from God. Their union is as complete as the azure sky reflected in the clear water; you cannot distinguish which is which. The man feels that God is very near him, round and about him. We should not think God is far removed from us. We should seek him in our own hearts, because the heart

> is the house where God dwells. If there is no selfishness or dust of selfish desire, we can become one with the God of heaven and earth.

Of the many other scholars of the Shushi school, we can mention but one, Kaibara Ekiken (A.D. 1630-1714). He was the son of a physician and was born at Fukuoka, Kyushu. He studied medicine but was long in public life, holding important political offices. He retired in 1700 and removed to Kyoto, where he spent his last years. He wrote more than one hundred works, on a considerable range of subjects. Of him Aston says: "His sole object in writing was to benefit his countrymen; and his style, though manly and vigorous, is wholly devoid of rhetorical ornament, and of those frivolities of language which were so freely indulged in by contemporary novelists and dramatists. He used the kana or native phonetic script so far as possible, so as to bring his teachings down to the level of children and ignorant people. Though perhaps the most eminent scholar of his day, there is not an atom of pedantry about him.

No Japanese books are more easy of comprehension than his."

Of his style, Kaibara himself says:

> A man remarked, 'You have studied Chinese classics but you write very popular books, and are likely to become a laughing stock among the scholars of Japan.' I replied: 'We have received great blessings from heaven, even more than other people. How can we repay heaven for what we have received? Many scholars have already attempted to explain Chinese morality and the ancient books. I being such a simple man, cannot keep company with them. All I can do is to write popular books in Japanese syllabary for the masses or for children. If I do this, they will probably be helpful. We eat delicious rice and spend valuable time. If I am born, and do not benefit my age, my life is useless as that of animals and birds, and I become as a worm. If I am helpful to people even by writing helpful books, I do not care whether scholars laugh or not.'

As to his Confucianism, he was a true follower of Chucius, although he did not consider him inerrant. He says:

> Shushi was not a sage. There are some mistakes in his great work. It is human to err, and Shushi being only a wise man, and not a sage, was not infallible. There is an old saying, 'Even a wise man makes an error in one thousand.' There is no other man after Mencius except Shushi, who interpreted the sage correctly. His merit is not inferior to that of Mencius. It is to be regretted that most men do not know Shushi well, and that without a study of his complete works some doubt him. Even Riku Shozan and Yomei are of this class. Shushi was a true Confucian scholar and a great man. It is remarkable how well he has interpreted the sages to the students of after ages.

Armstrong says: "He rejected Riku Shozan and Yomei completely. He said Riku Shozan was usually very wise, but being egotistical he was unable to see any fault in himself. He was proud of his wisdom and could not appreciate what others did. (This is why Shushi considered him a small man.) His methods of study were loose. Shushi criticized him as a Buddhist because he rejected investigation as a means of ascertaining truth and accepted introspection."

> Of Yomei (Wang Yang-ming) Kaibara said: Some scholars of the Ming dynasty regarded Yomei as a god. While he was great in literature and did a great work and was a great man of the world, his teaching had many defects, and were opposed to Confucius and Mencius. It is clear to one who examines the works of Yomei, that his learning must have originated in Buddhism. The Ming scholars did not know this, because their learning was not pure and they were not capable of judging.

He was a bitter critic of the Classical School, the school of Ito Jinsai and Ogiu Sorai. Thus:

> Present-day scholars, designated classical, are out of harmony with human nature and society. They uphold the way, but reject reason. They are not adapted to present-day needs. They are anxious about reading and writing, but lack practical virtue. They are self-opinionated and enjoy nothing better than to ridicule and condemn others. Sometimes they utter the truth, but their spirits are wrong. They need to be humbled.

A final quotation will give us something of his own attitude and view:

> Therefore to obey heaven and earth is to love man, following the five cardinal virtues—benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, sincerity. For man, the most important of all love is filial piety. Parents are the origin of human relations. So we must love them first, and after them other men and things. There are degrees of love. We should love animals first and plants second. Superior men treat all things with respect; this is agreeable to the mind of heaven and earth. In short, this is what Confucius means by saying, 'The path of duty is to be in accord with nature.' If we follow the nature of benevolence, we find filial piety of sons towards their parents. If we follow the nature of righteousness we find the right relation between master and servant. If we follow the nature of propriety, there is order between elder and younger brothers. If we follow the nature of wisdom, there is proper distinction between husbands and their wives. If we follow the nature of sincerity, there is found faithfulness between friends. This way is indeed found in the original nature of man.

We cannot go more fully into the personality of the Shushi School. It continued without interruption down to the time of the Restoration. During its entire history it was favored by government. Hayashi Razan may be said to have been "the founder of a line of official Kangakusha (Confucian Scholars) that extended down to 1867." Its influence on education was profound. Aston says that, in the seventeenth century, "a rage for the acquisition of knowledge" possessed the people. The "Tokagawa Shoguns encouraged learning, founded libraries and colleges, subsidized professors, were liberal in favors to eminent scholars." The Shogun Tsunayoshi (A.D. 1680-1709) surrounded himself with scholars, gave lectures on the Chinese Classics, and made Yedo a literary center. The great Daimyos vied with each other in their encouragement of scholars. They established high schools for the study of the Classics, History and Composition. Even the common people were taught reading, writing and arithmetic in the *terakoya*, or temple-schools. Aston says: "The modern literary language of Japan owes much to the Kangakusha, more especially to those of the 17th and 18th centuries." With all this, however, Japanese composition was neglected and there was a veritable craze to employ Chinese in all serious writing. Of course the natural reaction came. Alongside of this there grew up an assertion of Japanese nationalism, which in 1868 restored the Emperor to power and swept away the *evident* existence of Confucianism, though its influence remains in almost every detail of Japanese life.

Rivalry and hostility between the three schools of Confucian thought became so great that the Shogun Iyenari prohibited all but Shushi. That was the official Confucianism of the country. It supplied the recognized teachers, the officials. The other schools ran risk of persecution and punishment.

Of the Confucian educational institutions of this period, Brinkley says: "There were many throughout the provinces, notably the *Kōjōkwan* in Yonezawa, the *Meirindō* in Kaga, the *Kōdōkwan* in Mita, the Meirindō in Owari, the Kōshikwan in Kagoshima, the Jishukwan in Kumamoto, the Yōkendō in Sendai, and others. One of the most spacious was the Sendai institution: it had twenty-five rooms, and the buildings covered an area of one-third of an acre. Of such schools thirteen were under the direct patronage of the fiefs where they were situated, but not a few were independent of all official aid."

But the glory of these old schools has departed. Most of them have actually disappeared. Of the Yōkendō at Sendai a few rooms are still shown to visitors. Perhaps the best suggestion of one that remains is at Ashikaga. It is traditionally ascribed to Ono-no-Takamura (A.D. 801-852); it reached its zenith in the period of the Ashikaga Shoguns; its last notable benefactor was Uesugi Norizane, who died 1466 A.D. It had a fine library and was the chief Confucian center of Japan, until the Seidō in Yedo was developed. The present, rather neat, building houses a museum and library and maintains a reading room. Some Chinese books, which belonged to the old institution, are preserved here—some of them the gift of Uesugi Norizane. There are pieces of old carved wood in the doorway and some ancient Chinese types of brass vessels used in ceremonials are shown. In

THE TEMPLE OF HEAVEN, PEKING

bell-shaped alcoves are figures of Confucius and Ono-no-Takamura. There is said to be a bronze tablet here (in storage) with a design of Confucius upon it in low relief—presumably copied from a Chinese original.

B. *Yomei* (Wang Yang-ming) School. Surely the most interesting of the three Schools of Modern Japanese Confucianism is the *Yomei* School. With it are associated some of the greatest names in the history of Japanese thought. Here, more than in either of the others, we find the most characteristically Japanese thinkers. There are names here which stir the blood and kindle the enthusiasm of the common everyday Japanese. Many of this school have been not only thinkers, philosophers, Confucian scholars—but practical men, reformers, who have tried to improve the condition of the people and the nation. Out of many we can deal, briefly, with but three—Nakae Tojiu, Kumazawa Banzan and Oshiwo Chusai.

Nakae Tojiu, "the first and in some respects the greatest representative of Yomei philosophy in Japan" was born in 1608, in a village in Omi province. He is commonly called "the Sage of

Omi". His name is known and revered throughout Japan and many stories are told of him. By the death of his father, the child was left to the care of his mother, an unusual woman. Her attitude toward her son and his education was comparable to that of the mother of Mencius toward her son. That he might study and become a scholar, Tojiu's mother was willing to undergo any sacrifice. The gaining of education necessitated their separation for years. There is a story told of this period that illustrates the spirit of Japan at its best. Mrs. Sugimoto has recently told it beautifully in English. And when the years of study were ended the young scholar turned his back upon the cities and opportunity for worldly honor, to return to his poor village to give his knowledge, his energy, his life to the assistance and improvement of his village and its people. His story has often been told; it is easily found elsewhere. For our purpose one or two quotations from Armstrong must suffice.

> At first he was a disciple of the Shushi school, but upon further consideration, the more practical elements of the Yomei appealed to

> him. . . . In the midst of this struggle he found a book by Ryokei explaining the teaching of Yomei. He was greatly pleased with it, although he objected to the constant use of Buddhist terms. Shortly after this, at the age of thirty-six, he secured a copy of the teaching of Yomei, in the perusal of which he entered into the true meaning of Confucianism. From that time he was a teacher of Yomei philosophy. A single passage indicated his attitude to the idea of human brotherhood: As all things come from one great root, so men are the branches—As heaven and earth are the great parents of humanity, I and all other men are brothers, regardless even of race distinctions. Therefore sages perceive only one family in the world, and only one man in an empire. Any man who makes a difference between himself and other men has strayed from the right path.

Just as Nakae Tojiu is known and admired by students outside of Japan, so Kumazawa Banzan scarcely needs introduction. He was born at Kyoto, A.D. 1619. He was poor, but early showed great ability, and when only sixteen years of age, he was given an official position, by the Lord of

Bizen. In 1641, he resigned his position and went to Ogawa, the village where Nakae Tojiu lived and taught, hoping to become his disciple. To his bitter disappointment he was not given an interview. This was in August; again, in November, he was in Ogawa, urgently asking to be heard. Given an interview he begged to be received, stating that he had left his parents in charge of a younger brother in order that he might be free for study. Nakae replied that the first principle of culture is filial piety, which requires one to nourish and support his parents. It is a mistake for you to put your parents in charge of your younger brother. If you truly care for them and support them, you can find learning anywhere, and you will thus be able to learn in a true sense. He was thus unable to leave his parents; they, in turn, were unwilling to stand in the way of his studies. The result was that all removed to Ogawa, where with great difficulty he supported his parents and five brothers and sisters, at the same time carrying on his studies. He studied the Filial Piety Classic, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean. He adopted the method of Yomei. When he was twenty-seven years old, he took official position with the Lord of Bizen. The estate prospered under his management and his name became known throughout Japan. He introduced improvements and instituted reforms. When thirty-seven years old, he fell from a horse, injuring himself so that he felt obliged to resign his position. The Lord of Bizen at once appointed his son to the father's vacant position at a salary of 3000 koku of rice. Banzan asked that the boy's salary be reduced to 300 koku, until he should be *worth* more. Banzan now retired to Kyoto, where he lived simply and studied music. He quickly won many friends, among them men of prominence. With recognition and popularity came envy and hostility. Malicious tongues at Yedo whispered to the Shogunal government that he was a dangerous man. To quiet these reports he retired to a lonely place in the mountains. Two years later he removed to Harima. There, on account of his having recommended some reforms, he was kept under observation. He died at the age of seventy-three years.

Banzan was largely affected by Nakae Tojiu.

On the whole he was a follower of Yomei. His attitude, however, was tolerant. He said:

> The disciples of Shushi praise their own teacher and the disciples of Yomei do likewise. Each school tries to cry down the founder of the other. This is a great fault in both. Yomei and Shushi alike were great men, and neither the one nor the other wished for praise. Both alike desired that truth should take deep root in the hearts of the people. Their aim was that men should attain to the art of true living as perfect men. Then why is there need for quarrelling and division into two sects? Since these two sects have been founded, the true teaching of Confucius has been neglected. This will never do. We must grasp the meaning of these two great men, and, setting aside their various forms, find in each of them valuable fruit. We should eat the fruit instead of trying to eat the bark, which is devoid of any real nutrition.

Still he was Yomei rather than Shushi:

> If I give attention to my inner self I can find truth; no matter how clever and exact a man's teaching may be; if he does not study

> his heart, his teaching is empty. A common man becomes a saint through self-examination.—The Shushi school explains Confucianism very cleverly, but it does not suit us Japanese. The advocates of the school at present eagerly adhere to its formalism, but they are not superior to common people.

Very personal reasons have led to my selecting Oshiwo Chusai as our third representative of the Yomei School. I have known a little group of his Japanese admirers and have had the pleasure and honor of addressing them upon Confucianism, in their heart-cleansing cave; I have known a brilliant young Japanese who, at the age of twenty years, had translated Oshiwo into English, that the world outside of Japan might know of him and his philosophy; and I know something of the secrets of Mount Fuji—and Oshiwo, fearing lest his book on Morality should be destroyed and lost to the world, buried a copy of it in a stone cave in the sacred mountain. Here are three incidents, characteristically Japanese, which have given me a personal interest in Oshiwo, which I have for no other Japanese Confucian scholar.

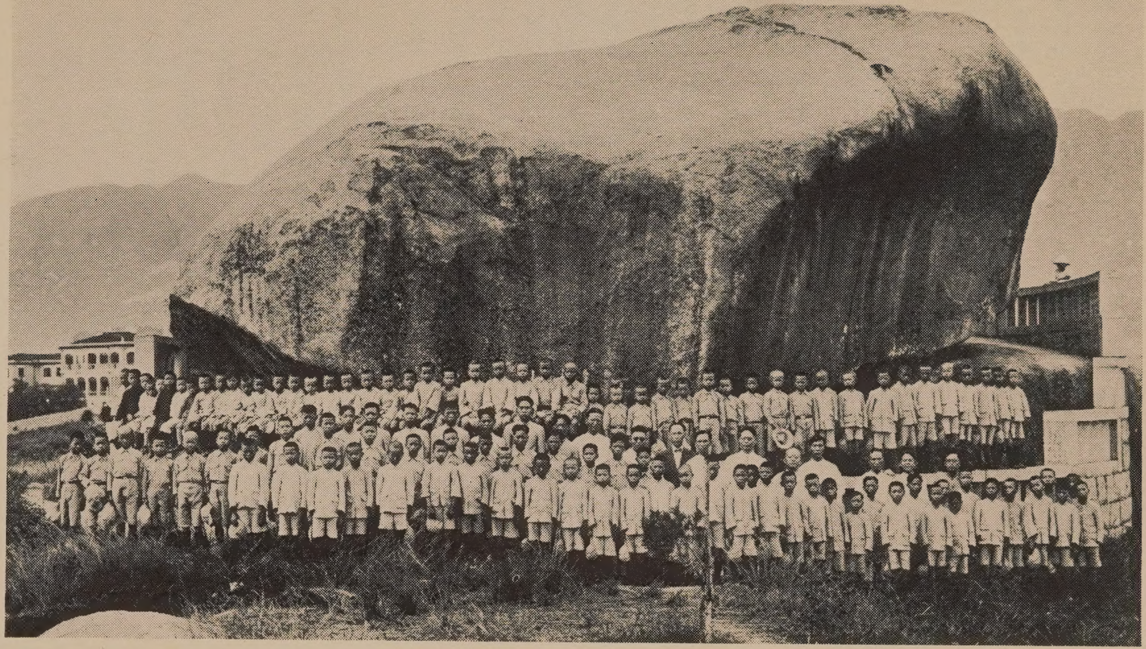
Oshiwo Chusai was born in the province of Awa, Shikoku, 1793 A.D. His family belonged to the Tokushima fief. He early lost his parents and was adopted, first into the Shiwoda, later into the Oshiwo family. Little is known of his early life, but he studied military tactics and became a policeman. Going up to Yedo he studied under Hayashi Jussai. On the death of his grandfather he removed to Osaka, where he was appointed constable. The governor of Osaka, recognizing his ability, appointed him a judge. He quickly made a reputation for his fearless and uncorruptible administration of law. He was particularly severe against every form of bribery, the corruption of the Buddhist priests, and crime in high places. Saito Setsudo wrote him a letter in which he said: "From the three capitals, through all the provinces, your name is spread abroad. All eyes are upon you to see what you will do next. All Japan feels your influence." In 1829 the Governor resigned and Oshiwo retired from office at the same time. He gathered a group of students and taught them; he gave lectures at many places.

An interesting incident in 1832 was his visit to the tomb of Nakae Tojiu, on which occasion he was caught in a terrific storm on the lake. This experience made a deep impression upon him and his disciples. The Governors of Osaka usually asked his advice upon important affairs of government, but finally one incumbent in the office was openly hostile to him. In 1836, owing to a failure of crops, there was great suffering among the people. He urged the government to meet the crisis with public assistance, but his advice was ignored. He sold his books and with the proceeds aided the needy. The angry Governor taunted Oshiwo's son, who was a policeman, saying that this act had been done for display and a cheap reputation. Oshiwo, angered, led the suffering people in an outbreak; the houses of the rich were attacked and plundered, the spoils being distributed to the starving people. He was quickly overpowered and took refuge in a house with his son. In imminent danger of capture, he set fire to the house and both men perished in the flames.

Of him and his teaching Armstrong says: Though he did not unnecessarily attack the

Shushi school, he strongly insisted on the superiority of the Yomei philosophy. He was a scholar and a hero, and taught what he felt it was right to teach. He taught the intuitive knowledge of Yomei, by which we may know good and evil, and attain to the higher life. He taught that a man who found his own true nature and endeavored to realize it could attain to the ideal man. His philosophy centers around the "Infinite" (literally "The Infinite Sky"). Space is infinite. Everyone knows this. But it does not merely apply to heaven. If there is space in our bodies, it is connected with infinite space, and is part of it. So our minds are connected with the infinite mind. The mind and the infinite are one and the same thing; just as the finite space in our body is part of the same infinite space, so our mind has the infinite, and can comprehend the universe with which it is connected. Therefore all sorrows and pleasures outside our bodies are really our own.

C. *The Classical School*: *Jinsai School.* Here again we must limit ourselves to three names. This school revolted against the innovators, both Chucius (Shushi) and Wang Yang-ming. They



CHINESE SCHOOL-BOYS ON HOLIDAY EXCURSION, CELEBRATING THE BIRTHDAY OF CONFUCIUS, NEAR HONGKONG

went back to the beginnings, to Confucius and Mencius. They were the fundamentalists of Confucianism. Armstrong characterized the school and its three earliest representatives:

> In Japan we have now to record the founding of a new school, which claimed to teach classical Confucianism. Both Yamaga Soko and Ito Jinsai have some claim to be recognized as the founders of this school. Both of them urged a return to the sages of old. Yamaga, having been suspected of treason by the government, was forced to destroy his published works. Ito Jinsai's works were all published and scattered over Japan, so his influence is very great. He is usually regarded as the father of the classical school. Even in the time of Ogiu Sorai, another famous representative of this school, Ito Jinsai was better known than Yamaga. These three men claimed to go back to the sages, but that does not mean that their thought was the same. Soko combined military tactics with Confucianism and "beating them into one ball", became what we may call "The Father of Bushido", the spirit of knighthood in Japan. Ito was a man of virtue, and his teachings emphasize the

practice of individual morality. Sorai was the politician and man of letters. All three men were active and practical. They were very much opposed to the older schools.

The three men were all born in the seventeenth century—Yamaga Soko in 1620, Ito Jinsai in 1627, and Ogiu Sorai in 1666. We have not space to treat of the teachings of the three in detail and will only refer to Ogiu Sorai's emphasis on ethics in government, wherein he really goes back to Confucius and Mencius, and to Yamaga Soko's relation to Bushido. Armstrong says:

> But Sorai, unlike the Sung scholars, always based his thought on utility or politics. He said: The way of the sages is to govern the world. Propriety, music, punishment and respect become the way. If a man who is supposed to govern the people is not morally trained, people will not obey him gladly and he will finally lose his influence. One must govern oneself.

As to Bushido, it of course deserves a treatise to itself. Inazo Nitobe's book on the subject created a sensation and has gone through many editions in various languages. There is still room for an even more extended book upon the theme, from another viewpoint. Here we are interested in it only as related to the Classical School of Japanese Confucianism and from that standpoint we can do no better than to quote Armstrong:

> Yamaga Soko has been called the father of Bushido, the knightly way of Japan. Bushido is a mental discipline, developed after the age of Kamakura, and extending downward through the feudal age. It contained the moral principles of the Japanese knights, and resembles similar codes of honor which existed in the days of chivalry in Europe. Japanese, however, claim that it is a special product of Japan; but no movement is peculiar to any part of the world. If we lay aside mere names and make due allowance for local influences, this movement was very similar to the Knighthood of the Middle Ages in Europe. Dr. Inouye says: "Stoicism in Greece, Knighthood in the Middle Ages, and the gentlemanly spirit of modern Europe have all some points of resemblance; but Bushido is never to be thought identical with these."

It originated in the union of the best elements of Shintoism, Confucianism and Buddhism. Bushido impels a man to take his own life in order to prove his own honor. Such a thing as "harakiri" is not found in the West. It is only found in Bushido. Soko was a typical knight of Japan. He combined in himself the highest scholarship with the best military tactics. His knightly spirit found its ripe fruitage in the deeds of the retainers whom he taught. The table of contents of his discussions on Bushido give us an idea of his views. The first part on laying foundations dealt with such subjects as "Know your duty"; "Follow after Truth"; "Endeavor to walk in the path of moral conduct." The second part on "How to polish the Mind" deals with a variety of subjects such as "Keep your conscience clear and strengthen your will"; "Be generous, be chaste and noble"; "Let your manners be always quiet and courteous"; "Hold yourself above worldliness with all its luxury, pleasure and gold"; "Be calm at all times, avoid self-interest and exalt righteousness"; "Avoid lust, be honest, and exalt valor". The third part on "the Cultivation of virtue and the Completion of Knowledge" deals with such subjects as "Loyalty and Filial Piety"; "Benevolence and Righteousness"; "Investigate everything and read widely". The fourth part deals with "Self-reflection". The fifth part on "Etiquette and Dignity" deals with such subjects as "Be respectful at all times"; "Be careful what you see and hear. Be careful what you say and how you act. Hide your feelings, no matter how sad you are"; "Be Temperate in eating"; "Be careful how you dress"; "Live in a home suited to your standing and furnish it accordingly"; "Be polite at all times". The sixth part on "Daily Life" exhorts to "Be careful of giving and receiving. Be moderate in your pleasure and not over-indulgent". Yamaga said the true samurai kept these precepts *in the spirit.* He himself has been called the "Incarnation of Bushido".

The comparison of Bushido to our Knighthood is considerably overdone. To call attention to one point of contrast only—European chivalry centered about a fantastic and abnormal attitude toward woman, which is conspicuously absent in Bushido.

VIII

CONFUCIANISM TODAY

CONFUCIANISM TODAY

We have considered Confucianism as (A) an Ethical System and (B) Philosophy; we have now to consider it as (C) Religion.

It is important to notice how respect for the sage has grown and gained expression through the ages. A partial list of the honors that have been shown him is here presented.

B. C.

Duke Ai mourned him, and erected a temple in his honor.

195. The founder of the Han dynasty sacrificed three victims at his tomb.

A. D.

1. He received the title—*The Duke Ni, all-complete and illustrious.*

442. A temple was erected near his tomb.

473. The chief of his descendants was made hereditary duke.

505. Temple in his honor in the capital city.

628. Separate temples dedicated to him.

637. Image of Confucius set in the place of honor in schools.

665. Title *Supreme Master* given.

739. Given title of *King* and furnished with a Court of Disciples.
932. His books engraved.
1013. Title *Perfect Sage.*
1048. Imperial robe given to him.
1307. Titles *Sage of Sages, Propagator of Letters, Author of the Grand Work.*
1330. His ancestors ennobled.
1645. *Kung, Ancient Teacher, Accomplished and Illustrious, All-Complete, Perfect Sage.*
1907. Worship raised to the highest rank.
1911. Eulogy of Chen Huan-chang.
1914. Yuan Shi-kai restored the ancient rites.
1917. Discussion of status of Cult; a National Religion?

There were indeed periods of lukewarmness and relative neglect. There were times when Taoism or Buddhism gained the upper hand. But, on the whole, it may be said that Confucianism steadily strengthened its hold. Commentary on the ancient texts was often trivial and futile. Hair-splitting and casuistry sometimes took the place of serious and independent scholarship. In its practical application the system tended to cold formalism and rigid regulation. Attention was given to the unimportant; the spirit was lost sight of in the emphasis placed upon the letter. There grew up a religion in addition to the ethics and philosophy. Temples were erected in which, at stated times, ceremonies of worship were conducted. While "idols" are conspicuously absent, tablets of the Master and his canonized disciples became objects to which respect is shown, before which prostrations are performed and set offerings are made. Confucius himself is given titles which recognize him as divine.

Père Wieger, with his dislike for Confucius and his followers, speaks bitterly of this development of reverence toward the Sage. He says:

> Those who were later to introduce the cult of Confucius, those who were to work for his glorification, were—note it well—either heterodox Chinese emperors, or foreign conquerors temporarily established on Chinese soil. They honored Confucius in order to be pardoned by the scholars—some for the sin of superstition, others for the crime of usurpation. They prostrated themselves before

the Master, in order to win the hearts of the disciples, and through them the heart of the people. Politics, not devotion!

To bear out his statement he gives an extremely interesting list of heterodox Chinese emperors and foreign conquerors. His statement runs in part as follows:

> Nearly a thousand years after his death, in 442 A.D., a Taoist emperor reared a temple to the Sage, near his tomb. In 473 a Tungus king created the chief of his descendants an hereditary duke. In 505, a Buddhist emperor erected the first temple at the capital in honor of the Sage. In 637 a minister, who favored all cults, assigned to the image of Confucius a place of honor in the schools. In 665 an emperor who practiced every sort of superstition conferred upon him the title of *Supreme Master.* In 739, a Taoist emperor accorded to him the title of King and created for him a Court of his disciples. In 932, a Turkish emperor caused his books to be engraved, until then little distributed, and thus brought about the diffusion of his doctrine . . . Etc., etc., etc.

It may be that these heterodox Chinese emperors and foreign conquerors were playing politics; it may be that they lacked devotion. But how deep must have been the impression made upon the people, how great must have been the influence of the scholars, which forced recognition from heretical and alien rulers! The argument of the good Père works badly. Far from proving that the hold of Confucianism was weak, it shows that the heart of the people had been won. A curious fact is stated by Père Wieger: that the official cult of Confucius reached its culmination under the last, the Manchu, dynasty, which came to an end through the revolution of 1911. A plant must have deep roots, that reaches its most luxuriant bloom 2500 years after its planting—even if its fertilizer and watering were imported.

In 1307 the Emperor, a Mongol by the way, issued a decree as follows:

> The Sages who preceded Confucius have been saved from oblivion by him; those who came after him, have been shaped by him. It is he who has taught men upon what models they should form themselves. Thus,

> I decree that he shall hereafter be called Sage of Sages, Propagator of Letters, Author of the Grand Work.

The decree of the Empress Dowager, "the Old Buddha", is an event of almost yesterday. She was undoubtedly playing politics. The wording runs:

> In view of the supreme excellence of the great Sage Confucius, whose virtues equal Heaven and Earth, and make him worthy of the adoration of a myriad ages, it is the desire of Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress Dowager, Tzu Hsi, etc., that the great Sage shall in future be accorded the same sacrificial ceremonies of worship as are accorded to Heaven and Earth when sacrifice is paid by the Emperor. Let the Yamen concerned take note.

Whatever may have been the motive, it was actual worship that was given by the Emperor before the tablet of the Sage in the Temple at Peking. Soothill describes it:

> In the Imperial Confucian temple, the Emperor himself kowtows six times before the Sage's shrine, whereupon, the spirit being

> now present, the following invocation is read by the appointed officer:
>
> On this . . . month of this . . . year, I, the Emperor, offer a sacrifice to the philosopher K'ung, the ancient Teacher, the perfect Sage, and say—O Teacher, in virtue equal to Heaven and Earth, whose doctrines embrace the past time and the present, thou didst digest and transmit the six classics and didst hand down lessons for all generations. Now in this second month of Spring (or Autumn), in reverent observance of the old statutes, with victims, silks, spirits, and fruits, I carefully offer sacrifices to thee. With thee are associated the philosopher Yen, continuator of thee; the philosopher Tsăng, exhibitor of thy fundamental principles; the philosopher Tszesze, transmitter of thee; and the philosopher Mêng, second to thee. Mayst thou enjoy the offering.

Yuan Shih-kai was both Chinese and President of the Republic, when in March 1914 he reëstablished the old religious rites. In *Confucian Lands,* we read:

> On December 23, 1914, the President, as direct successor of the Emperor, performed the

state worship at the Altar of Heaven, using the regalia of the Chou dynasty and following the old rites, except that there was no burning of a whole bullock. The kowtow was dispensed with also, the President merely bowing to the altar, instead of prostrating himself. He offered with appropriate ritual a blue paper inscribed with prayers written in vermillion, a tray containing blood and the hair of a bullock, silk, soup, wine, grain and jade, all of which except the last were then burned in the great brazier adjoining the altar.

As to the temple and manner of worship, Soothill says:

> The temples to Confucius usually consist of two long cloisters containing the tablets of his disciples, leading to a lofty hall at the end devoted to the Sage and his more famous followers. Behind this is another hall containing the tablets of his ancestors. Offerings of fruits and vegetables are supposed to be made at the new, and incense at the full, moon. Two great sacrifices are presented every year, in Spring and Autumn, at which all the literati are theoretically supposed to be pres-

> ent. In some places the ancient musical instruments are brought out and performed upon, the wand bearers making postures representing each character of the famous Hymn to the Sage. . . . As almost every phase of this hymn is an abbreviated quotation from some ancient writer, often containing allusions of an elusive nature, it has been no easy task to translate it line by line into English metre, so for the sake of those who wish to read it in the original it is also given in character.

Just as posthumous honor and titles have been given to Confucius, so they have been given to the more famous of his disciples. The four whose tablets stand nearest to his are named in the invocation quoted above. They are known as "the four assessors". They are his two best known disciples, his grandson, and Mencius. Besides these four, sixty-eight others have been honored by their tablets being assigned a place in the Confucian temples.

We may recognize three kinds of worship or ceremonies as included in the religion of Confucianism: (a) the great official ceremonies in which the ruler, on behalf of the people, performs set worship to Heaven and Earth in special Imperial temples; (b) a host of minor ceremonies, individual, family, or national, performed on all sorts of important occasions. These are punctiliously observed, according to rules or regulations, actually or supposedly ancient and traditional; (c) worship shown to Confucius and his disciples in temples, or other places (schools, offices, and the like) where a tablet of the Sage is located.

A crisis has come in Confucianism as a religion. With the introduction of Western influence there has come a tendency to discard the Sage and his teaching. In the trend to reform and modernization, the old system of examinations has been abolished. These examinations were the way to official position. The old China was a land governed by literati. Any man, whatever his parentage or birth condition, stood a chance of advancement. The system was one of the boldest experiments in democracy that the world has seen. Position, influence, wealth came through examination and the examinations were practically confined to the Confucian writings. They were abolished, replaced more or less by examination along Western lines, on Western subjects, *practical and specialized*, suited to modern demands. There are those who regret it and mourn the old days. Mrs. Ayscough is one who feels that China has lost much in abandoning the old system. Though exceptionally outspoken, she is not the only one who feels that way. Sun Yat-sen in his lectures on *the three principles* held that examination was a necessary element in the full development of a complete Democracy which he felt had not yet been fully achieved by any Western nation. He does not go into detail as to the precise nature of the examinations desirable, but he was notably harking back, after adventuring rather far afield in the mazes of Western thought, and it is by no means likely that he would have settled upon our methods. It is suggestive that one of our own most recent writers on education, Ross Lee Finney, reacts vigorously against the specializing tendencies of the day; he would probably prefer an examination of a cultural kind to one in special knowledge in the selection of men to deal with public affairs.

Since the revolution of 1911, there has been much discussion as to what to do with Confucianism. The extreme proposals are to proclaim it the National Religion, or to throw it completely overboard as a thing antiquated, outworn, and unsuited to a twentieth century world. Committees have been appointed to consider the matter. Decisions and decrees have been various and contradictory. Some changes have been actually introduced. Prostration before the tablets has been replaced by bowing; ritual garb has given way to ordinary dress. Official statements have declared that the ceremonies before the tablets are not religious, not worship shown to divine beings, but respect displayed to national benefactors. Conditions are unstable. Prophecy is a profitless and thankless task. Yet one would perhaps be safe to say that the Sage will reassert himself. His influence will probably continue into a distant future. Young China, strongly nationalistic, after vain wanderings, is likely to retrace at least a part of the way.

Has Confucianism really elements which will enable it to hold its own? A host of Chinese students have taken higher degrees in American and European schools. Those who receive a Ph. D. are required to prepare a thesis upon a subject within their special field of study and this thesis is printed. Chinese students have been notably inclined to choose a thesis subject related to China. Most of these students have fallen early under Western influence and when leaving China have little knowledge of Chinese history, culture, letters or philosophy. Their lack of background often comes out clearly in the thesis. Occasionally there is an exception. One such was Chen Huang-chen, who took his degree at Columbia University in 1911. He was already versed in Confucian writings. The subject of his thesis was *The Economic Principles of Confucius and His School.* It is a remarkable production, superior to most doctoral theses. He held that Confucianism has grappled with most public problems and reached respectable conclusions. We have space for but a few quotations showing the Confucian attitude toward some of the important questions of today, such as education, eugenics, democratic opportunity and the like.

As to education: There are different grades of schools. The local school of the village is the lowest grade. Then come successively the district school, the provincial college and the national university. The local school is in every village; the district school in every district; the provincial school in every province; the national university in every capital city of every feudal state; and the imperial university in the imperial capital. Thus educational institutions exist over the whole empire. They are all public schools and are maintained by the different governments; hence they are all free. The school system was an actual system of the ancients, although it may not have been so complete as the Confucians prescribe. In ancient times, the different institutions were used not only as schools, but also as churches, and for political meetings, social gatherings, and even military councils.

As to eugenics—here is a chance for the critics: the Golden Rule vs. the Silver Rule, the positive vs. the negative statement. One is told whom he may not marry, rather than whom he should marry:

According to *Elder Tai's Record of Rites,* the first thing in gestatory education is the choice of the mother. Therefore when the parents choose the wife of their son, they must select her from among those families which have had a high standard of morality for all generations. There are five women who are not to be taken in marriage:

1. The daughter of a rebellious house;
2. the daughter of a disorderly house;
3. the daughter of a house that has produced criminals for more than a generation;
4. the daughter of a leprous house;
5. the daughter who has lost her mother and grown old.

Dr. Chen states the Confucian theory of progress thus:

i. The abolition of war. A peaceful society is necessary for industrial development.
ii. Technical invention. It is the basis of economic progress, and also the basis of other progress.
iii. The control of nature. It makes man the rival and assistant of heaven and earth.

iv. The *Tsing-tien* system. Everyone has an equal share of the most important part of the means of production.
v. The universally free education. It gives everyone equal opportunity for intellectual and moral development.
vi. The election system. It makes a representative government based on the educational system.
vii. The Great Similarity. It abolishes such social institutions as state, family, and private property.
viii. The change of human nature. The end of the Confucian system is to make human nature perfect.

The principle of the *Great Similarity* is expanded as follows:

> When the Great Principle prevails, the whole world becomes a republic; they elect men of talents, virtue, and ability; they talk about sincere agreement, and cultivate universal peace. Thus men do not regard as their parents only their own parents, nor treat as their children only their own children. A competent provision is secured for the aged till their death, employment for

> the middle-aged, and the means of growing up to the young. The widowers, widows, orphans, childless men, and those who are disabled by disease are all sufficiently maintained. Each man has his rights and each woman her individuality safeguarded. They produce wealth, disliking that it should be thrown away upon the ground, but not wishing to keep it for their own gratification. Disliking idleness, they labor, but not alone with a view to their own advantage. In this way selfish schemings are repressed and find no way to arise. Robbers, filchers and rebellious traitors do not exist. Hence the outer doors remain open, and are not shut. This is the stage of what I call the Great Similarity.

At the close of his thesis, which runs to more than seven hundred pages, our author sketches a brilliant future for his native land. He says:

> The future of China is bright. With an uninterrupted history extending over five thousand years, with an intelligent, diligent, prudent, and vigorous people of four hundred millions, with an extensive but connected ter-

> ritory of four and a quarter million square miles, with abundant natural resources, under one centralized government, one uniform language, one highly developed religion, one national idea, China will, without doubt, become a strong nation, but the world need not be afraid of the so-called yellow peril. China will indeed adopt both militarism and industrialism. But China will not injure any one not Chinese as the Western nations take advantage of other people. After China shall be strong, the Great Similarity of Confucius will come and the world-wide state will appear. Then the brotherhood of nations will be established, and there will be no war, but perpetual peace.

This was written in 1911. Much has happened since. Startling events have recently taken place on Chinese soil. Would Dr. Chen still cherish so bright a hope? Would he still believe that Confucianism is the solution of China's problems?

It must have required a lot of Christian grace for Père Wieger to say, as he does: Let a Japanese pronounce the final word:—"Thanks to the actual fusion, now taking place between the Western sciences and the ethics of the Chinese Sage, Confucianism will take on a new vigor and its ethic will acquire a force as yet unexpected."

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